



Daily Report

East Europe

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Bosnian Peace Talks Postponed Until 31 Aug

*LD3008100593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0953
GMT 30 Aug 93*

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Geneva, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—Talks to end Bosnian civil war have been moved for Tuesday, because the Moslem delegation will arrive too late for the talks to open on Monday afternoon as scheduled, the secretariat of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia said on Monday.

Alija Izetbegovic, the Moslem leader, is due in Geneva only on Monday evening, after talks were originally to have opened, the statement said.

The session is to finalise the latest peace deal and put an end to the 17-month-old war, after the parliaments of Bosnia's warring Moslems, Serbs and Croats deliberated on Monday on the proposal which envisages for organising Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of ethnic mini-states.

The Bosnian Serb and Croat parliament approved the plan in its entirety, but the Moslems took the position that it needed to be amended and insisted on continuing the talks.

Attendance at the Geneva talks has been confirmed by the leaders of Bosnia's warring nations—Serb Radovan Karadzic, Croat Mate Boban and Moslem Alija Izetbegovic—as well as Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Momir Bulatovic of Montenegro and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia.

Stoltenberg ‘Encouraged’

*AU3008080193 Paris AFP in English 0739 GMT
30 Aug 93*

[Text] Geneva, Aug 30 (AFP)—UN peace mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg expressed confidence Monday that

the international community would be able to police an eventual peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Speaking to reporters before resumption of the peace negotiations here, Stoltenberg said he was “rather encouraged” about prospects for mustering enough troops to implement an agreement.

Stoltenberg has said that some 40,000 UN troops would be needed to police a settlement dividing Bosnia into three ethnically based republics. Other reports have put the figure at 50,000.

Concern has been raised whether the United Nations or the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation would be able to come up with the necessary manpower and resources, but Stoltenberg was confident.

“I am confident when it comes to implementation,” he said. “It is a difficult job but we shall manage it.”

The subject will be discussed here Wednesday when UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali is due to meet with his NATO counterpart Manfred Woerner.

Stoltenberg would not comment on chances for early acceptance of the plan he presented on August 20 with European Community mediator Lord Owen that would give Serbs 52 percent of Bosnia, Moslems 30 percent and Croats 18 percent.

Representatives from each warring camp met separately over the weekend to vote on the plan with the Serbs approving it, but the Croats and the Moslem-led Bosnian Government seeking more territory.

Stoltenberg said the debates went “more or less as expected”, but declined to say how much margin there was for negotiation. The mediators have already expressed pessimism about cutting a better deal for the Moslems.

Representatives of the warring parties were due to resume talks here Monday afternoon.

Berisha Views Political, Economic Issues

AU2708182793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 27 Aug 93

[News conference by President Sali Berisha with foreign and domestic correspondents in Tirana on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] [Shpetim Lugu, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] I have a question: How to understand why [Socialist Party Chairman and former premier] Fatos Nano and [former president] Ramiz Alia, though charged with corruption, are seeking to be tried on political grounds?

[Vebri Ushtari, chief editor of TRIBUNA DEMOKRATIKE] Have the Security Council and the EC taken any concrete measures to prevent Milosevic from kindling another Bosnia in Kosova?

[Unidentified reporter] With the beginning of the economic reforms, a large number of employees were put on unemployment welfare benefit. Now this welfare is over. Some of them have since become employed in private business, but the majority have remained unemployed. How do you see their future prospects?

[Berisha] I will answer these questions, and then we can continue.

Regarding the problem of wanting to be a political prisoner or of preferring a political trial, everyone is free to incriminate himself or adopt whatever attitude he wants toward himself. As far as I know, the Prosecutor's Office has not hitherto instituted political charges against them. As far as I know, and as you all know, the former premier is charged with the embezzlement of humanitarian aid and the former president is charged with the embezzlement of public funds.

Has the Security Council taken any concrete measures? I can say that the EC has adopted some concrete measures against Serbia, such as the embargo and a series of other resolutions. As for Kosova, what is to be stressed and considered positive is Mrs. Albright's initiative and the resolution approved by the Security Council to return the CSCE observers to Kosova. This has at the same time two values, one being to return the observers, who have been and are very important in informing the world public and the CSCE about developments in Kosova, while it also shows the how much care and attention the Security Council has for this hot region, where the crisis could very possibly erupt.

As for the question about the EC, I can say that in general the Security Council is dominated by EC members, and so my answer also applies to the EC's position.

The new law on social security solves the problems of welfare and non-welfare. It is true that today a very large number, about 30 percent, or perhaps fewer, I do not know the exact figure, of those who are receiving welfare are engaged in other activities. The measure of introducing the monthly registration of employees will put an

end to the problem of having some of the funds allocated for welfare wasted and not used for their proper purpose.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, my first question is: There are rumors that a camp for Bosnian Muslims will be established in Albania and paid for by Saudi Arabia. Can you tell us something about this? My second question is: Foreign investment is not coming into Albania or at least only minimally. What are your thoughts on this problem? Thank you.

[Berisha] Concerning the refugee camp, first, as you know, Albania has expressed its readiness to accept a number of refugees from Bosnia. It remains fully committed to this project. Initially, the Bosnian Government said that the Scandinavian countries had expressed a readiness to build the camp, then other countries joined in, and finally Saudi Arabia. We welcome all those who are contributing and will contribute to constructing this camp and of course to keeping the refugees, though Albania realizes that it will have to make sacrifices for those suffering people to ensure the same living conditions for them as it provides for its own people. In this respect, Saudi Arabia has recently offered funds to build this refugee camp. If another country offers funds and aid for them, we will greatly appreciate this. It will be a refugee camp that, like all other camps, will be subject to the rules of the United Nations, which supervises such camps in other countries.

As far as investment is concerned, it is true that this was one of the parts of the government and the Democratic Party [PD] program that has not proceeded according to expectations. I think that three major factors have caused the delay in investment. First, we cannot neglect the conflict in the region. Serious investors and big companies have not found it a very good idea to invest in a region where the shadow of war constantly hangs over any investment plan. Second, I think that the extremely centralist character of the state that we inherited has exerted an undeniable influence here. In this respect, we are trying to decentralize investment as far as possible and increase the powers of local districts, areas, and institutions so that they can accept investment.

Third, Albania lacked investment legislation, and there is still a gap in the current appropriate investment legislation. I hope that we will very soon have one of the most liberal legal frameworks for investment. We have drafted a supplement to the Investment Law, which makes our law here in Albania one of the most appropriate. This was drafted with the help of international institutions. The psychology and the mentality of people who emerge from a closed, isolated society has something of an influence here. Partnership is useful and every Albanian who goes in for business, joint ventures, or free initiatives should have this clear in his mind. I can say that this clumsiness and awkwardness has started to be overcome. We are at a phase when more than a few investments have been offered and they are in the process of going through. Drilling has started in the

Adriatic Sea and more will follow this year. Joint ventures are being increasingly set up. Now after the successes of the reforms in Albania, international financial institutions, the World Bank, the European Bank of Development, the European Investment Bank, the Islamic Bank, the IMF, and many other institutions are far readier to offer credits and financial support to various projects in Albania. Thus, I think that the slowness that characterized these 17 months will be overcome.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE reporter] Passport controls have been introduced on the border between Macedonia and Kosova. This has made communication difficult among Albanians in those areas. Does Albania possess the political means to soothe this problem?

[Berisha] This is an additional difficulty that Albanians are experiencing today. Albania will discuss this problem in future meetings with the Macedonian Government so as to have easier conditions for Albanians, considering the very grave conditions of oppression that they are experiencing in their lands. To defend the rights of Albanians, Albania remains loyal to those principles and values that are decisive in resolving these problems. First, we have remained and will remain committed to the principle of the inviolability of borders and respect for countries' integrity and sovereignty.

Second, we have insisted and will insist on recognizing the human and national rights and freedoms of Albanians wherever they are. We think that in these efforts, Albanians, as before, must be committed to strictly democratic means and methods. Spread over several states, Albanians should be in no doubt that war-mongering, aggressive elements in the Balkans, within Serbia and elsewhere, are much interested in creating destabilization and conflict in those regions where they live. I think that it is down to their wisdom and not only their national but also wider interests that they continue to insist on their rights and self-restraint.

Albania maintains a continuous dialogue with the Macedonian Government. Unfortunately, incidents involving the killing of Albanians on the Albanian-Macedonian border have still not been condemned by the Macedonian Government. The Albanians in Macedonia continue to make their contribution to the stability of this republic. However, such stability cannot be achieved without their rights and freedoms being recognized. Our view on Kosova has been clearly expressed: We think that since the UN and the EC want, and know that we certainly want, to prevent a conflict, it is necessary to place Kosova under UN or NATO control. It is exactly within this framework that Albania has asked to join NATO. I think that it is very important that NATO reconsiders the possibility of opening itself up to those states that, today and in the future, may offer strategic interests to the security of this alliance, which is devoted to preserving the universal values of democracy.

[Namik Ajazi, TELE NORBA] Mr. President, as the main PD leader until its victory, what can you tell us from your position as president about the victory of democracy since 22 March? What has generally been done in Albania to apply the program that you had as leader of the PD? My second question is: As regards partnership with European countries, where does Italy fit in?

[Berisha] If we return to 22 March or before 22 March, Albania was involved in a wave of destruction, arson, cutting of telephone lines, vandalism of schools, and theft on a massive scale. In such a situation [words indistinct] at that time, a very wise man saw that the those who were leaving were ruining the house, while those who were coming were going to rebuild it. In fact, the PD presented an extremely ambitious program that, if we consider the conditions under which it was drafted, did not seem feasible in many respects. This was because, first, our legacy of destruction ran very deep, and, second, we lacked experience.

A group of failed politicians had left the political scene, taking with them the devastation, the 50 years of cruel oppression, the consequences of a catastrophic dictatorship, and the disfiguration of the name Albanian. A group of new people from various fields in no way related to politics, such as engineers and doctors, had come to power. You remember the newspaper headlines at the time viewing those who had come to power. Financial resources were scarce. However, let us look at the results today, 17 months later. I can say that very rarely has a political force ever achieved in 17 months as much as the PD has, together with the other coalition parties sharing a common political ground. Calm and order have been established.

Let us just consider the financial reforms. What was the state of the Albanian lek before 22 March? The lek was being devalued at a galloping rate. Inflation was increasing at 20-40 percent per month. Whereas today, we have a convertible currency in Albania. I do not think that anyone could ever have imagined that within a year the Albanian lek would be fully convertible. The lek is bearing up quite well and inflation is under control. This is a very great achievement if we consider the previous rates of inflation and [words indistinct] today, this is a very promising achievement. There are some economists who try to explain this achievement in terms of foreign currency entering Albania. They seem to me very biased because, if they think that it is such currency that determines inflation, I can ask them why our friends who saw very high figures before the war and had a very great influx of foreign currency were unable to beat inflation? The truth is that currency does play a role, but production plays the most important role and there is an increase in production in Albania. I can give you many figures here.

In the case of the most recent monetary reforms, 1992 was the year that halted the decline in production and 1993 was the year of stability but not of increase. I can

give you the following data. We are not going to make comparisons with 1938 or 1968 but with 1992. Wheat production has increased by about 50 percent. According to a study not for the whole of Albania, but just for Tirana villages, livestock production has increased by about 30 percent. The export of ferro-chromium has increased by 57 percent. Copper ore has increased by 7 percent, blister copper 2.3 times, electricity by 9 percent, glass products 2.8 times, cotton about 2.2 times, knitwear 1.6 times, fabrics [konfeksione stofi] 50 percent, cloth [pelhure] 61 percent, wood products 5 times, and asphalt and bitumen 80 percent. Petroleum has fallen by 3 percent, cement by 7 percent, while construction has increased by 200 percent.

Thus, Albania will end 1993 not with stagnating production but with an enviable increase in overall production. I think that this increase is having a strong influence on the fight against inflation. I have given you these figures without mentioning transportation. During this year alone, more than 120,000 vehicles are circulating in Albania. Thus, I can say that these developments have been much greater than we anticipated. Let us go back to 17 months ago. What condition was the country in? The country was being burned and destroyed, and gunfire was heard everywhere day and night.

Let us come to today. If we need to make a comparison, I can say that this was the program of national salvation, of national revival, and I say this without in any way overlooking the shortcomings and great defects that there have been during this period. I cannot say that there were no failures or defects, but I can say that in 17 months we have realized much more than we could have imagined 17 months ago, quite apart from the opening up of Albania, which, to my mind, constitutes one of the greatest successes.

If we go back to 17 months ago, who were we? The most isolated country in the world. Left-wing extremism had driven the Albanian [words indistinct] of arson, and theft. However, the commitment of the Albanians to the reforms, their acceptance of the sacrifices inherent in them, and their loyalty to the great principles of democracy and democratic values saw to it that today they are considered as dignified partners. The level of Albania's integration into Europe increases with every day that passes. Within the space of 17 months, we have managed to sign a medium-term agreement with the IMF. Albania has become an associate member of the North Atlantic [Cooperation] Council. We have signed agreements with the EC, EFTA, other international institutions, and the Islamic Conference. Today, in practice, Albania is more integrated into the international community than any other country. And more important is that, in terms of its policy, Albania is a stable state and factor of stability and peace in a very turbulent region.

Of course, I have said, and I will say it again, that there are non-achievements. I have not mentioned investment and organized emigration. However, in this regard the war situation itself prevents employees from being

sought in areas of danger because under certain circumstances they obtain a political status. Second, as is known, the EC faces unemployment that is undesirable for any country even if they are developed countries. In this respect, we cannot ignore the fact that the stand of the EC countries toward Albanian emigration has been tolerant and we should be grateful, very grateful to Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Greece as well, despite what I might call the recent insanity of some Greek politicians, who, caught up in nationalistic life, undertook a revengeful cleansing operation toward Albanians, which, whether legal or not, was never justified on a moral basis. It is true that many of them were illegal and this undoubtedly presented a problem, but every democratic state is obliged to remain committed to some moral principles that derive from the Human Rights Charter, the Helsinki principles, and the agreements it has signed. Nevertheless, a great number of Albanians are in Greece and work for the good of their families and the Greek state.

I think that Italy's position is one of the most important and, from what I know of Italian exchange programs and joint ventures, its investment in Albania occupies the first place.

As for Mr. Baci's question, I can say that a great influx of refugees from Kosova would be one scenario concocted by Serbian chauvinists. Of course, Albania is prepared, but Albania thinks that it will not have to face all the situations that can be created by the Serbian chauvinists and their friends alone, but will be together with those states and institutions that consider the universal values of democracy, peace, and security more important than old interests, the interests of the old times of their countries.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, Albanian Radio and Television has shown a series of meetings of the PD Chairman Mr. Eduard Selami and a series of his appeals. At the same time, the PD newspaper every day prints the names of those whose turn it is to be arrested. In recent months, a number of people have been killed under police torture. As the proposer of the Law on Human Rights and Freedoms, how would you comment on these?

[Berisha] Mr. Brate, concerning the statements by the PD chairman, I think that you should address the question to the PD chairman as I no longer hold that office. However, I can say that the PD program is the program of human freedoms and rights, the program of free initiative. You should realize that the PD has remained and will remain committed to this program till the end of its existence. Thus, this party will be able to exist and survive only as a party of human rights and freedoms, as a party of free initiative.

As for press articles, I think that you should address these to your reporter colleagues, as I do not think it is a suitable time for me to get down to press opinion. You deal with this problem the whole day.

Let us answer the next question, the elimination of alternatives. Gentlemen, I have not eliminated any alternative. I work intensively to apply and develop the alternative of the center right, and I am unshakeable in my convictions that it is the best alternative for Albania. However, with their free vote, the Albanians themselves have determined what is the best alternative for Albania. I am and will remain very determined about the program of this party, which is a program of the center right.

It is true that there have been a few rare incidents with the police. What has been the position of the state? I hope that you have seen clearly that in three cases, the state has intervened through legal authorities. You must be convinced that the police are under strict orders in just the same way as we have always been in favor of their inviolability and their dignity, in just the same way as we have the highest regard for their role and extraordinary importance in the functioning of the state. We are quite clear about charges brought by certain individuals to the authorities about violations of human rights.

Concerning the recent case, I can tell you that at the time when the victim, who was a criminal, as [words indistinct] gentleman, do not shrug your shoulders, as he can [word indistinct] you, the policeman should [words indistinct] 17 cm the police officer there. Both were Albanians. He was a criminal, but he was at the police station, so no one could touch him. He will be dealt with subject to the law. The justice authorities should deal with him. The way they behaved was criminal. For this, the district and general prosecutor's office has initiated an immediate investigation.

I can say that unfortunately, such cases can occur in every democratic country. They have happened in Albania, too. What is the difference? The difference is this: Before [word indistinct] the policeman was promoted, whereas now [word indistinct] the one who commits the crime is convicted as a criminal. This should not happen. But at least the state maintains a clear position on allowing law and justice the ability to function properly.

I would like to mention an article. Manipulation of these incidents by leftist extremists is unreasonable. It is true that this happened at the police station and it was an unjustified and unacceptable event. However, these are the same forces that blocked the road last year by order of those who had organized the campaign of destruction and those who blocked the national road this year. The difference was that last year they were hidden, this year they confronted the law. It is not dignified to encourage such developments. They are in nobody's interest. I repeat once again that the government will insist that the law functions properly.

[REPUBLIKA correspondent] Recently, the German justice authorities tried the East German former defense minister, who was charged with the crime of border killings. This phenomenon has been very much with us in Albania, too. You are the chairman of the High

Council of Justice. Will the justice organs in Albania deal with this question and will the criminals be denounced?

[Berisha] My function as chairman of the High Council of Justice has nothing to do with the content with which the justice organs deal.

[Unidentified correspondent asking indistinct question in English]

[Berisha] Gentleman, religion is separate from the state in Albania. I think that this factor is sufficient to understand that Albania has been and will remain part of this continent. Its membership in the Islamic Conference conforms with the respect accorded to the majority population in our country. However, the same thing could happen tomorrow should a catholic conference be created. To respect its Catholics, Albania, of course, would become member of such a conference, remaining always a lay state, in which religion is definitively separated from the state.

Concerning Milosevic's visit to Greece, I think that it was not simply a visit, it was a visit primarily for political reasons. What you see today is a (?diplomacy) of the Greek church and the Serbian church. In one case, the Serbian church inspired naturalism, but now as it appears that the church has understood that by this act it created a great tragedy in the region and wants to retreat; the Greek church is very encouraging toward the Serbian chauvinists. I learned that recently it decorated Karadzic with the same medal it has granted to renowned personalities who bear no comparison and have nothing in common with a war criminal such as Karadzic.

[Unidentified correspondent] Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis continues to make statements against Albania. Some days ago, he declared that Albania and Bulgaria are [words indistinct] to divide Macedonia. He has made several charges against Albania's foreign policy. What is your opinion about this? The second question: It has been a long time now since anything has been said about the contribution that the Albanian diaspora can and should give to strengthen democracy in Albania. Does there exist in state institutions and [words indistinct] on the law of diaspora [words indistinct]?

[Berisha] The first statement by the Greek prime minister is completely absurd and I can say that it is clear to the whole Europe and international community that Albania has no territorial claim. It has become usual that in this region of conflicts, various politicians, to express or hide their ambitions, attempt to blame others. Despite what the Greek premier has declared, I can say that Albania had been, is, and will remain interested in the stability of its eastern neighbors.

Concerning Bulgaria, I can say that in all the meetings and contacts we have had with the Bulgarian Government and President Zhelev, we have discussed how to contribute and help toward the stability of our common neighbors. There are two states that have recognized Macedonia as an independent state. It would be better if others recognized it as well.

As regards the diaspora, it is true that more intensive work should be done to engage it more in Albania's development. We are studying several ways to accelerate this. It should be understood however that even the awakening of the diaspora cannot be immediate. Fifty years of contempt, curses, and insults from communist propaganda did not keep them away from Albania, but made them turn a deaf ear and mind their own business wherever they were. Now, their interest in Albania is increasing more and more and I am convinced that very soon, they will take an active part both in the development of the market economy in Albania and in the construction and management of the institutions of the democratic state.

[Hamit Bejtja, SINDIKALISTI] Albania is among the first states that have insisted in recognizing Macedonia. After the events and incidents that are occurring, does Albania still maintain its positions? This is the first question. The second, how do you assess the departure of [Former Agriculture Minister] Mr. Kalakula, considering the applause in the hall when he uttered that sentence which became the pretext for his dismissal, and his later statement to the press that the rabbit sleeps somewhere else?

[Berisha] There is no regret or remorse that we have recognized Macedonia. With this act, Albania has shown that this has been a point of consensus for all Albanian political forces at home and abroad and I consider it a mature act, by which Albanians have shown that they favor stability in the region.

Concerning the incidents that you mentioned, I think that the Macedonian Government bears full responsibility for them. However, this cannot be a pretext for not recognizing a state. These incidents are condemnable and unacceptable, but not to the extent that one should question its existence.

About the other question, that statement was unacceptable to the PD policies and morale. I have stressed and I want to stress again that the PD is a center-right party. I will stress and say with conviction that the author himself does not have fascist aspirations and ideals. I am completely convinced that [words indistinct]. However, in politics it is necessary that statements be thought over first; that statement was not in conformity with and was unacceptable to party policy.

[Indistinct question by unidentified correspondent]

[Berisha] The truth is that there have been many statements by opposition leaders, about laying one's cards on the table, to dragging people along [possible reference to dragging of Hoxha statue following his downfall], to accusations of fraud, etc. However, I can say that in implementing the program we have presented, I have worked, am working, and will continue to work to reach understanding, tolerance, and cooperation. These remain my unshakeable goals. Of course, I do not and will never deny that I belong to a party that has voted for me. According to some countries' experience, it is possible that though a head of a state may have

the majority, his citizens will never agree with him and think as he does. This is diversity, this is the value of democracy.

As for unity, it should be about respecting the principles of democracy. The unity of a nation has many factors, but if there is a question of political rights, it consists in respecting the principles of the functioning of the legal state and human rights and freedoms. In this respect, despite great difficulties, I think that Albania, as a post-dictatorial society, has given and is giving the example of a continuous consolidation of democracy.

However, I do not take into consideration statements by those leaders who say that elections should be held on 23 March or that we should open some skulls and drag them along. I consider these unbalanced and disillusioned statements. That time has gone. It is true that long ago, people were dragged along in Albania. Yes, they were dragged along and not very long ago, even in the 90's. [Passage indistinct] On the other hand, I do not think that the role of a head of state is not to constantly deal with the dialogue among parties. The parties should have a dialogue. However, on important topics, we have undoubtedly had and will continue to have a dialogue with all main political forces. Not rarely, but repeatedly, we have raised our voice and have discussed; we have agreed together or we have not agreed, and this practice will continue. In conclusion, unity should consist of a diversity of beliefs, and respect for the diversity of beliefs.

[Unidentified correspondent] There are rumors that former U.S. President Jimmy Carter is going to come for a visit. Can you tell us something about the topics you will discuss?

[Berisha] Yes, the visit that President Jimmy Carter is going to pay to our country is a remarkable event in Albanian-U.S. relations. At present, he is a distinguished personality in the whole world for his great contribution in promoting democracy and the assistance that he and the Carter Foundation give to democratic institutions everywhere. We will discuss with former President Carter the developments in Albania, the course of reform, and developments in the region. This is without doubt a very important event that we welcome.

[Indistinct question by unidentified correspondent]

[Berisha] My opinion has been very well expressed and I will reiterate it—I have been and I am against collective punishments. Of course, anyone can give accounts of specific crimes but not on collective crimes. I have remained and will remain strictly loyal to this principle: That under a dictatorship the overwhelming majority of people, not all of them, are accomplices and share the same sufferings, the same responsibility. I think that it is not honest to deviate from this principle. No one should deviate from this principle just because they suffered imprisonment, persecution, torture, etc.

I follow the news very attentively. Of course, calls for reconciliation strike me positively. However I would like

to remark something as a citizen, not as a president. I think that it is up to the dignity of the people to beg pardon and express their repentance because this only does them honor. It seems to me that this is an act that honors them, because they are the same people who are building democracy and taking part in the construction of democracy. They are building a free Albania from deep isolation with great courage and a lack of knowledge, but they are learning; they are trying to build a democratic society. They are very privileged. Thus, I remain loyal to the principle that I do not support collective punishments.

As regards changes in the Penal Code, I can say that with these changes, the Penal Code of Albania has become equal to the Penal Code of France and many other countries, which cannot pre-write genocide. This has been an imposition [as heard], as all the penal codes of Europe or the majority of them do not pre-write genocide.

[Blendi Fevziu, ALEANCA] I have two questions, the Law on the Return and Compensation of Property to Former Owners anticipates compensation in the form of securities [letra me vlere]. According to the same law, these securities will be useable at the privatization auction. Considering the latest instructions or the latest platform by Mr. Kopliku, privatization will be carried out this year; the securities, which are useable at this auction, will start to be distributed next year. Do you see any contradiction in this?

[Berisha] No.

[Fevziu] Excuse me, I have a second question about the Bosnian refugee camp to be set up in Albania. Concerning recent foreign press comments, I mean two articles by Misha Glenny in THE NEW YORK TIMES that were refuted by Albanian [word indistinct], do you think that a dangerous precedent is being created, an uncontrollable situation akin to that surrounding the Libyan president in the 70's?

[Berisha] Concerning the first question, Albania would be a very happy country if it could complete privatization by the end of the year. I do not think that the process of privatization can be completed even by the end of 1994. We are very ambitious in privatization matters and we will try, after surmounting the first package, which mainly includes small enterprises and several medium ones, to go on to the privatization of big enterprises, such as hydropower stations, factories, streets, and ports. This could always be realized on the basis of the principle that the greater the number, the larger the profit, and undoubtedly on the basis of shares and securities. I am sure that Albanian citizens will have the opportunity to participate and be owners of these objects of privatization. This is just the beginning, the privatization of the enterprises and the package that you are talking about is a package comprising 600 small and medium enterprises. The medium and large enterprises will come next year. We are making technical preparations. We will study the experience of the Czech

Republic, as it is one of the most advanced; and that of East Germany, which can also be helpful, as well as those of some other countries, so as to be able to prepare [words indistinct] and we will proceed with the largest and the deepest form of privatization, which we will be able to realize.

Concerning Bosnia, we have discussed this before, and as I said then, it is absurd to think that an incident might be created whereby Albania accepts refugees [as heard]. Albania has accepted and will accept refugees, as it has historically helped and will help people who are in calamity. There is no reason to be disturbed by the horns that are blowing from Thessaloniki or any other center of ill-will about this problem. Mr. Fevziu, Karadzic's decorations and the celebrations organized in Athens for this war criminal should disturb us more than the reception by Albania and Albanians of some diseased, unsheltered women and men, who have lost their properties and limbs in an immoral war being waged in the region.

[Unidentified correspondent asking indistinct question in French]

[Berisha] Of course, the crisis in the Balkans remains a problem with no short and quick solution. It is a long-term crisis. We note a pause related to the suspension of the Geneva Conference and the efforts of the parties in the region. I think that the presented plan on ethnic division marks the definitive failure of the principles of peace and security on a judicial and moral level. It practically justifies ethnic cleansing in a way that cannot be distinguished from the racial discrimination of Adolph Hitler during World War II. I am convinced that the ever stronger stance the United States is adopting will influence developments in the Bosnian crisis. I believe that NATO's latest decision on air attacks has had a direct effect on the success of the incomplete liberation of the siege of Sarajevo. On the other hand, I think that contradictions in the EC over the Bosnian crisis will be resolved; if they aren't, this will open the way to a chain reaction of wars which no one will know how to stop. It is therefore necessary to defend principles of peace and security.

Albania has stressed and is again stressing that together with international institutions and bodies, it will oppose with all its might, a massacre or ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosova.

KShH Denies Raiding Office in Kolonje

AU2908140093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Regarding reports by the newspaper KOHA JONE and ATA on the raiding of Albanian Helsinki Committee [KShH] documents in Kolonje District, the KShH wishes to clarify that the KShH does not even operate in Kolonje District. The person who appeared as the section chairman of this district has abused the committee's integrity by creating speculations and various abuses not only in Kolonje District but also in a broader sense.

Truckers End Strike, Clear Sofia Streets*AU2708190293 Sofia BTA in English 1614 GMT
27 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—Traffic in Sofia was impeded this morning by 80 TIR [International Road Transport] trucks of the Sofia branch of the SO-MAT international road haulier, blocking streets and key junctions in the city centre. [passage omitted]

The mayor of Sofia ordered truckers of the Khadzhi Dimitur branch of SO-MAT to end their protest actions because they violated the Meetings, Rallies and Demonstrations Act. The Sofia Municipal Council did not object to the initiative committee's request to hold protest actions on the condition that the actions be held in the side bicycle lanes at an agreed time, without blocking essential roads, the press release says.

The allegation of the strike committee leader that the striking truckers are arming themselves proved false when checked, BTA learnt from the Interior Ministry Press Centre.

Later in the afternoon, Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov told reporters that the negotiations with the strikers' initiative committee have been successfully completed and that he thinks this should lead to an end of protest actions. Under the protocol signed, the managers of all branches of the company will have discretion to determine the structure and payroll numbers of the branches. The strikers' demand that branches be allowed to contract transit freight on their own was not met, the minister said. The negotiators were received by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, who said he would not allow the government to be brought to its knees and common understanding could only be reached if law-breaking ceased, said government spokesman Raycho Raykov. Mr. Ermenkov said he does not intend to impose administrative penalties on the strikers but believes that the competent authorities should act appropriately in connection with the lawbreaking committed during the strike. "I consider the industrial dispute with the Khadzhi Dimitur branch as closed," the transport minister said.

The branch did end its effective strike action, BTA learnt from the chairman of the initiative committee Mladen Tsvetkov. At the same time, the truckers remain on strike alert until a finalization of the agreements is reached, he said.

By 5 PM local time [1400 GMT], all TIR trucks have left road lanes in central Sofia, BTA learnt from Dobromir Pelov of the Interior Ministry Press Centre.

The culprits have been identified, and they will be held criminally liable by the prosecutor's office and administratively liable by the police under the Road Traffic Act and its implementing regulations, Mr. Pelov said.

New Proposal for Transit Across Yugoslavia*AU2708212893 Sofia BTA in English 1733 GMT
27 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed the embassies of the permanent members of the UN Security Council the text of a new Bulgarian Government proposal for measures and procedures for verification of compliance with sanctions in the conduct of transit shipment across the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Support and assistance in the consideration of the proposal was requested from the EC/CSCE Samcom Centre in Brussels and the Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council in New York. The hope was expressed that an approval of the proposal would facilitate considerably the issue of permits to Bulgarian companies for transit shipment across the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro). "We count on understanding and assistance about that, too," the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry says in its press release.

In early August Bulgaria sent to Brussels its new proposal for transit shipment of goods, after an earlier initiative for an overland transport corridor across the FRY, launched in June, was turned down.

Consultations with a delegation of the U.S. Congress were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the ministry's Press Centre announced. The sides considered questions concerning actions taken by Bulgaria in observance of the sanctions, the adverse effects of the strict application of the embargo on the country and the assistance which the international community could provide for the mitigation of these effects, including solutions to the problem of transit shipment of Bulgarian goods to central and Western Europe.

The Bulgarian Government's proposal for control of transit shipments across FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) and Hungary has also been brought to the notice of the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia.

Editorial Criticizes Macedonian President Gligorov*AU3008083593 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
24 Aug 93 p 8*

[Editorial: "Kiro Gligorov Needs Cure for Amnesia"]

[Text] In an interview for the BBC, Skopje's president Kiro Gligorov appeared absent-minded in forgetting something that is known throughout the world, namely, that Bulgaria was the first state to recognize Macedonia's independence.

Unlike Skopje Television, which at the time squeezed the report on Bulgaria's recognition between two economic reports, yesterday president Kiro informed the BBC that "Bulgaria was one of the first states to recognize Macedonia...."

For better or worse, we were the first, Mr. President! Instead of beating around the bush pretending to offer the hand of friendship to your neighbors, you should stop this anti-Bulgarian campaign that again rages in Skopje.

Otherwise, you will fully confirm the character of your Easter speech, in which you made the revelation that Cyril and Methodius were Macedonians.

As far as our politicians and diplomats are concerned, they should finally understand that keeping silent and assuming the pose of an ostrich will not lead to anything positive.

Commentary on Relationship Between Zhelev, Berov

AU2708130293 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
21 Aug 93 p 2

[Commentary by Margarita Vurbanova: "Theme for Prime Minister's Matinee Show"]

[Text] The love between Dr. Zhelev and Prof. Berov is entering its final stage. There will not be a happy end. However, the prime minister's extraordinary activity continues. Now we will enjoy a matinee show by the prime minister every Friday. He will discuss gossip and intrigues and will deny what has been said and written during the week. This will involve ministers and their bosses. Thus Prof. Berov is gradually turning into a talking counterpress bulletin, using concepts such as "political vulgarity," "childishness," and others that we will spare you for lack of space. Naturally, this will not add a single penny to the national treasury or return a single plot of land to its owner. A cabinet can display rather mundane behavior when at least something in the state is developing in the right direction. There are no such symptoms in our country. Thus, Prof. Berov's showman's performance for the journalists, lasting 30 minutes, was a sheer waste of time for them.

It has been said by the Presidency that relations between the president and the prime minister have not cooled off. However, no confirmation of this claim was issued by the cabinet. The Presidency reluctantly admitted after a delay of several months that only 310 of the total of 3,010 plans for returning groups of land plots will be ready by the end of August. However, this did not prevent the formation of 900 cooperatives with theoretical, rather than real owners. Other unpleasant figures were also published by the Presidency. This could be the topic of another Friday show from the prime minister. However, it appears that Prof. Berov will concentrate on other subjects. His decision could be completely different from the decision of the people and the time.

Commentary Says Berov-Kontic Meeting Necessary

AU3008093993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
25 Aug 93 p 6

[Unattributed commentary: "A Berov-Kontic Meeting Is Necessary"]

[Text] It is high time for the prime minister, instead of concerning himself with newspaper competitions, to prove that Bulgaria is following an independent foreign policy.

Professor Berov should meet with his Yugoslav counterpart Kontic, no matter what Bulgarian and foreign politicians may say. The war in Bosnia will end one day, but Bulgaria and Serbia will remain neighbors. One should start right now to lay the foundations of our future relations.

Prof. Berov should convince Kontic that Bulgarians harbor no bad feelings toward the Serbs, but are obliged to comply with the decisions of the international community. In particular, they are compelled to observe the embargo that is causing them immense losses, no less than what Serbia itself is suffering.

The Bulgarian prime minister should also try to convince Kontic that Belgrade should help in putting an end to the fighting in Bosnia, so as not to appear, in the eyes of the world, as the chief cause of the bloodshed there.

Prof. Berov should also make a specific proposal—that Bulgaria, as a neighboring state that has also suffered as a result of this war, might with Belgrade's consent perform a goodwill mission to help to end the conflict. In this way, it will gain both the Serbs' trust and international authority, which it lacks at the moment.

Construction Minister Reviews Visit to Lebanon

AU2708131193 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
23 Aug 93 p 4

[Interview with Construction Minister Khristo Totev, by Ekaterina Slavcheva; place and date not given: "Our Construction Companies Are Held in High Repute in the Arab World"]

[Excerpts] [Slavcheva] Mr. Minister, what were the results of your three-day working visit to Lebanon?

[Totev] Our visit had a working character, but it also had an official aspect. In a personal letter, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov invited the prime minister of Lebanon, Rafiq al-Hariri, to visit Bulgaria. The letter contained two important elements: First, it stressed our foreign policy support, which we express through our support of Resolution No. 425 of the UN Security Council, according to which the Middle East problems should be resolved peacefully, through the negotiations that began in Madrid. Bulgaria supports all UN resolutions on the Middle East. In addition, in the spirit of our traditionally

friendly relations with the Arab countries, including Lebanon, an important economic partners of ours, the letter stresses the readiness of the Bulgarian Government to further activate and expand mutually beneficial economic cooperation between our countries.

[Slavcheva] How did your visit pass and what meetings did you have?

[Totev] I must point out the incredible assistance of our ambassador to Lebanon, Mr. Krustyu Krustev, the way in which he organized our visit, and his close and personal contacts with members of the government and businessmen. The meetings took place in a good and businesslike atmosphere, and were arranged within one week. [passage omitted]

[Slavcheva] What are the advantages of the Bulgarian companies that could take part in construction work in Lebanon?

[Totev] Our advantages are our high repute and popularity in the Arab world, and the two-year presence of our companies in Iraq, Syria, and Libya. "Technoeksports-troy," "Elektroimpeks," "Glavbolgarstroy," "Metal Constructions," and "Industrial Construction" are the companies we introduced to our hosts, but those companies did not need any introduction. They could participate—separately or in a consortium—in the competitions for the construction of hospitals, apartment buildings, ports, roads, and airports. [passage omitted]

Former Privatization Chief on Current Situation

AU2708125993 Sofia BTA in English 1133 GMT
27 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—Asset stripping has seized the entire economy like a giant octopus, Aleksandur Bozhkov, former executive director of the Privatization Agency, says in an interview in today's DEMOKRATSIYA. He was relieved of his position by the agency's Supervisory Board on Tuesday. According to him, unlike the other East European countries, Bulgaria witnessed a fully legal process of asset stripping, or hidden privatization as it is popularly known. It was legalized by the delay in privatization and the parallel passage of the Commercial Code. Mixed partnerships involving state and private interests were instrumental in the transfer of funds from state-owned into private companies.

The incomplete bank consolidation, the unresolved bad debt problem and the lack of a credit and finance system servicing Bulgarian buyers are the main obstacles to privatization in this country, according to Mr. Bozhkov.

Mass privatization is possible in Bulgaria but it should be prepared very carefully, Mr. Bozhkov says, or else the development of and investment in all 500 enterprises included in the cabinet's privatization project may be blocked.

Trenchev Forecasts Cabinet Reshuffle

AU2708131393 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian
23 Aug 93 p 4

[Interview with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Teodora Peeva; place and date not given: "In Autumn Politicians Will Grasp Idea of General Cabinet Reshuffle"]

[Excerpts] [Peeva] Has war already been declared between the government and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation?

[Trenchev] I do not know whether the concept of "war" is correctly used in this case. In a normal state, the trade unions and the government must defend certain positions. Their dynamic confrontation results in correct decisions. It is normal to have differences. Unfortunately, our analysis of the socioeconomic development is very pessimistic. For a rather long period of time, we have witnessed a complete paralysis of the state institutions.

We did not object to the formation of this cabinet, because we had only two demands and these were fulfilled; that the government has a clear program and that the social dialogue be restored. There was enough time to act. Now we must take account of the results. I draw this picture so that you could understand the nature of the growing confrontation between the government and the trade unions. On our part, the confrontation is not aimed at annihilating our opponent, because we are deeply convinced of the necessity of administering society. Our criticism must stimulate the other side to do its job.

The ball is in the government's court. It must commit itself, declare clearly whether it is capable of governing Bulgaria, and indicate a specific schedule to resolve the separate problems. If the government cannot, does not want to, or does not know how to rule it must withdraw. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] From what you say, I understand that the Podkrepa Labor confederation has not yet begun the process of toppling the government, although it was singled out as the cause of all the cabinet's misfortunes and a main participant in collusion against the prime minister....

[Trenchev] As a witness to events in Bulgaria in recent years, Professor Berov could come to a better conclusion. If we initiate a course to topple the government, it will be expressed by actions that suit this goal. In addition, such a decision cannot be adopted only by the president of the trade union, but by the trade union's supreme organ—the Confederative Council—which will meet by the end of September, unless something extraordinary happens before.

Mr. Berov cannot convincingly explain the failures of his cabinet and is forced to seek a culprit outside the ranks of his subordinates. Our criticism is clear and well-founded. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] Will there be a cabinet reshuffle by the beginning of October?

[Trenchev] This is a problem of the politicians. I think that most of them will grasp the idea of a general cabinet reshuffle if they reach the conclusion that they are not interested in having elections in the late autumn. Someone must rule Bulgaria. The reshuffle that generated so much hope in the summer proved palliative. Not only did it not improve the quality of the cabinet members but, on the contrary, it reduced it.

[Peeva] You have already published information related to secret talks between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], the prime minister, and [Industry Minister] Rumen Bikov. Do you have information about other meetings of this kind?

[Trenchev] I do not know why this discussion developed. The Communists, themselves, have admitted that there were numerous such meetings. I do not object to the meeting itself, but to the topics discussed. I shall reveal the names of the participants on the part of the BSP parliamentary faction and the circumstances of the meeting only in court, if things go that far. I allowed myself to report the meeting, because the Communist Party members became brutal in their struggle to remain in power. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] Against the background of the fact that this cabinet was elected with the mandate of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], does it mean that the prime minister is conducting talks behind the back of the DPS?

[Trenchev] This is an issue that the DPS itself must analyze. The parliamentary factions alone must assess to what degree the prime minister takes their opinions under consideration. I think that the parliamentary factions should strengthen their control over the actions of the executive power. Unfortunately, they apparently have different priorities. The only thing that moves them is their struggle to utilize the present situation. [passage omitted]

Videnov Criticizes Zhelev Over Land Reform

AU3008095193 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Aug 93
p 16

[Article by Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP: "BSP Has Taken Firm Stand on the Land"]

[Text] The only surprise in the president's recent "autumn political sermon" was that it appeared in the blue pages of STANDART NEWS, instead of being delivered on the grounds of the Boyana Residence. It is

an open secret that many of the people who earn their living in the Presidency are solely concerned with the "red peril" and finding democratic means to combat it. Despite their long years of service in the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (or perhaps precisely because of this) all their assessments of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] are biased, their conclusions superficial, and their forecasts untrue. Incidentally, President Zhelev's ideological generalizations do not carry weight as far as the Socialist Party is concerned.

On the chief question—the land issue—the president is today simulating a spate of belated, useless, and harmful action. At the meeting with him two months ago, no parliamentary force disputed the fact that social tension exists in the countryside. However, the president's absurd proposal to perpetuate the existence of the liquidation councils until all the land is completely restituted was not supported by anyone and provoked a sharp reaction. It was considered to constitute gross disregard of the constitution, the Land Act, the Law on the Cooperatives, and the government's program. In fact, the liquidation councils have for some time been in a position to determine the land shares, and they should be compelled to conclude their work and be immediately removed from involvement in the production process. Only the millions of Bulgarians whose property is now being restored are entitled to farm the property due to them, while at the same time the land commissions draw up their land ownership title documents. The liquidation councils are not needed for these formalities, and the president is fully aware of this.

However, it turns out that the liquidation councils apparently were needed to "sow and reap," to complete the ruination of agriculture if that is necessary, and to stifle "the new cooperatives of the BSP." Moreover, they are to be richly rewarded for all this from the meager land shares of the owners, and not from the Presidency's swollen budget, for example. What the owner wants is evidently of no importance to Dr. Zhelev. What remains of the president's highly praised "liberalism"? This is nothing but cynical administrative dictate that no one in Bulgaria will accept.

The government should have been the first to distance itself from him, if for no other reason than to defend its own program (which the Presidency evidently has until now confused with the so-called "SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] program"). It is precisely this program that guaranteed the election of the government and its parliamentary support. The program contains a number of especially important points, such as the official commitments to dissolve the liquidation councils before March this year; to return most of the land to its owners; to support the new agricultural cooperatives, and to give high priority to assisting agriculture. It may be that at the end of last year the people in the Presidency hoped that their colleague Professor Berov would preserve the liquidation councils in accordance with their secret political design for them to serve as "blue [SDS] lieutenants" in the "red villages," pampered at the expense of the

landowners, as election campaign centers for the "blue idea," as eradicators of large-scale Bulgarian agriculture, and as special messengers for a "future middle class."

The time for these political schemes has long expired. The BSP insists that the government should announce its official assessment of the state of agriculture no later than September, together with its views on the immediate prospects of the agrarian reform and the measures it plans to take to ensure a good start for the next farming year. Then everyone will have a clear picture, each person will draw his own conclusions and assume his own responsibility, while the government will bear in mind who offers it the greatest political support in its own undertakings.

For over two years now, the BSP has held a consistent, principled, and immutable stance on the agrarian reform. The president will not succeed in his efforts to misrepresent this stance. The Socialists advocate "unconditional restoration of land," "real landowners," and "a true market." The owners want their land back in new real boundaries, achieved by consolidating their widely separated old plots, and the law grants them this right. The people insist on being given temporary possession of these consolidated plots now, so as to work them in the new farming year that is just starting. This provisional grant of possession is in strict conformity with the law and does not obstruct, but rather assists the final division of the land. This is the very reason why the new cooperatives are needed—defended by the constitution, having priority under the government program, conforming to all the contemporary trends, and desperately necessary to guarantee our bread. Where are the signs of "neocommunism" in this?

No one in Bulgaria today has bothered his head about the "ideal boundaries," the "nomenklatura of the labor collective farms," or the "false cooperatives," except a handful of the president's advisers, supporters, and cronies. To dispel their "delusions," the BSP will publish once again its principled stance on the agrarian reform. One hopes that this time they will read it themselves, instead of resorting to the services of Mrs. Mozer [leader of Bulgarian National Agrarian Union].

"Whoever blocks the restoration of the land in fact torpedoed the entire land reform," the president himself quite correctly asserted in August 1993. This was precisely the warning that the BSP gave Zhelev in December 1991 when, running as a candidate for the presidency, he called for those unfortunate amendments to the Land Act. At that time Zhelev declared that these changes would really put a stop to everything that had been done so far in connection with the agrarian reform, adding that they were painful for people, but would guarantee the "unconditional return of the land" within a year at the latest. He was elected president. The SDS imposed the amendments, and they have been in force for almost two years; yet nothing has been returned to the owners and agriculture is in an even worse state than it was then. The president is obliged to accept his own heavy political

responsibility for this delay of the reform and the negative results of this. Instead of this, he prefers to blame others for his mistakes, to disregard the constitution, the laws, and the government program, and to exceed his constitutional powers, causing fresh delays of many weeks duration. The public must know that the president has no right to pronounce on the "illegality" of the cooperatives, to introduce "moratoriums" on applying this or that article of the Land Act, or to obstruct government aid to the dying Bulgarian countryside because of his ideological prejudices. If he persists in following this line, the president will also have to take the blame for the developing food disaster.

Bulgaria's political and state institutions no longer have any right to turn the Bulgarian countryside into an arena for ideological, political, and insider skirmishing. We must unite our efforts to speed up the agrarian reform, but only at an acceptable social price, even at the present most difficult stage. The BSP is ready to do this!

Former Local SDS Leader To Form Rival Party

AU3008093793 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
25 Aug 93 p 2

[Report by Krasimir Krumov]

[Text] Shumen, 24 August—The new party "SDS '89" [Union of Democratic Forces '89] that is being formed at the moment will collect the votes of 30 percent of the electorate at the next parliamentary elections, likely to be held next year, Doncho Donchev, one of the initiators of the new party and the former leader of the SDS organization in Shumen, announced today. He added that recently people holding the same views had been contacting him from Burgas, Dobrich, Ruse, Silistra, Plevna, and Kubrat.

Donchev said that in his talks with Agrarians and members of the BSDP [Bulgarian Social Democratic Party] and the Liberals Party, all of those he spoke to approved the idea of uniting all democratic forces in the SDS. However, it is uncertain how the central leaderships of these parties will react. According to Donchev, if they managed to reach an agreement, they could count on winning one-third of the electors' votes. The program of the proposed coalition has already been prepared in Shumen and Sofia, and it is planned to register the SDS '89 after 15 September.

Agrarians Hold Anniversary Rally

AU2908142093 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT
28 Aug 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpt] Sofia, August 28 (BTA)—A national agrarian rally, marking the 124th anniversary of one of the founders of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) Tsanko Tserkovski and the 70th anniversary of the assassination of prominent Agrarian leader Rayko

Daskalov, was held in Byala Cherkva, the two's birthplace, today. The rally was attended by BZNS Chief Secretary Anastasiya Mozer and Agrarian supporters from across the country.

Some 500 troops, firefighters, civil defence members and local people are still trying to extinguish the huge forest fires which broke out yesterday at Predela, to the southwest of Sofia. One fire is spreading towards the town of Razlog and towards the Parangalitsa Reserve, one of Bulgaria's largest and best known.

The rest of the fires have been brought under control and localized, the civil defence announced. There are no accidents at the enterprises handling toxic industrial material and background radiation is at its normal level.

The 393 fires which broke out in the area of Blagoevgrad (southwestern Bulgaria) this year, inflicted damage exceeding 2 million leva. About one third of them broke out in August and caused the greatest damage. Fire service experts are particularly concerned about the ever more frequent fires in the high parts of the mountains, where it is impossible to take firefighting equipment and water. [passage omitted]

Personnel Changes in Army Reported

AU2708130493 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
21 Aug 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "New Personnel Changes in Army"]

[Text] Some 502 officers of the Bulgarian Army have been discharged and transferred to the reserve forces. Some 392 of them have been discharged at their request, while 62 officers have been discharged following an unsatisfactory assessment of their work. The rest have been discharged because of structural changes in the Army, and for medical reasons. This was reported on 20 August by the Press Center of the Ministry of Defense after an extended meeting of the Military Council of the chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff. Some 26 percent of the active duty officers have been transferred. More than 3,000 officers have been promoted, while 279 have been transferred to lower grade posts. More than 800 graduates of the military academies and schools are joining the Army's officer corps. The orders on their appointment will be signed by the minister of defense by 27 August.

Havel: Geneva Plan Unlikely To Settle B-H Situation*LD2808171693 Prague CTK in English 1555 GMT
28 Aug 93*

[Text] Prague, August 28 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel fears that adoption of the Geneva peace plan to settle the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina would not mean a definitive solution to the situation in the country.

He said this today at the beginning of a meeting of representatives of civic initiatives and intellectuals from former Yugoslavia. The two-day meeting was organized by the Helsinki Civic Assembly and is held under Havel's aegis. However, if the plan only managed to stop the killing in Bosnia, it would be worthwhile, Havel said.

Possible steps to save Sarajevo, Mostar and other places, will be discussed at the meeting. The discussion will also aim to create conditions for further negotiations on the settlement of the Bosnian situation in the context of the whole of the former Yugoslavia.

Havel said that the meeting would inspire him in his further work. He said he saw the Yugoslavian conflict as a test of whether or not Europe was able to defend European values.

Klaus Comments on Need for Intelligence Services*LD2608212793 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT
26 Aug 93*

[Text] Prague, August 26 (CTK)—Three intelligence services at most should operate in the Czech Republic in the future, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists during a break in today's extraordinary non-public session of the parliamentary defence and security committee on intelligence service.

Klaus added that he himself would not mind if there were only two of them.

The distinction between the military intelligence service and the civil one will undoubtedly be preserved, Klaus stressed. However, he indicated that the fusion of some services was being considered. Definitive decision should be reached within two weeks.

In any case only one civil, interior intelligence service should be preserved, Klaus said.

With the number of services reduced, the number of constitutionally responsible persons will shrink as well, which would make the situation easier to monitor, Klaus explained.

As soon as an agreement has been reached, work will begin on a law so that it can be passed by the end of 1993, Klaus said. The law would regulate the structure of the intelligence services, their tasks and the basic principles of their operation. There are not the slightest clashes

between himself and the representatives of the parliamentary defence and security committee, and heads of the individual intelligence services on this issue, Klaus emphasised.

He added that he was disturbed by the fact that the Czechs always compare the Czech intelligence services to those of Western countries. The Czech Republic should be compared to similar countries, and its intelligence service should be given what he called a Czech dimension, or central European one, Klaus concluded.

The meeting was also attended by the Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml, temporary director of the Security Intelligence Service (BIS) Stanislav Devaty and other heads of intelligence services, as well as by Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde and his two deputies, Karel Ledvinka and Pavel Tollner.

Predicts Economic Growth*LD2808123193 Prague CTK in English 1052 GMT
28 Aug 93*

[Text] Uherske Hradiste, South Moravia, August 28 (CTK)—Negative discussions on the planned changes of the Czech Republic's territorial setup are initiated mainly by those politicians who failed in the last elections and now want to build up their own small parliaments, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said at a meeting here last night.

I find this to be a threat to the unity of our small state, Klaus said, noting that the general population is much less interested in the questions of territorial administration than many politicians.

He said he was convinced that we have already reached the other side and the next year would be one of a marked economic growth. The 2.8 per cent unemployment rate in the Czech Republic is very low in comparison to that throughout the world, Klaus stressed. Despite this, the government is considering ways to create new jobs, he added.

He stressed that neither the president, government nor parliament would hold talks with Sudeten Germans. Our stand on this is firm. But Sudeten Germans exist and views must be exchanged round a table. We therefore propose that it be done by politicians of second or third rank, who can explain our position, Klaus said.

On the subject of church, Klaus said that he recognised churches as a necessary part of society. However, he was convinced that they did not even want to play a dominant role.

The Civic Democratic Party (ODS), of which Klaus is chairman, viewed church property restitution unambiguously, Klaus said. ODS has proposed a bill on the mitigation of some wrongdoings, but it is impossible to put right all the wrongdoings of the past, Klaus concluded.

Ruml Comments on 'Scandals', Police, Crime Rate

LD2708184293 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT
27 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 27 (CTK)—The security situation in the Czech Republic is stable, and the scandals that emerged in the summer did not affect it, Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml told a press conference today.

The affairs have destabilised neither the Czech police nor the Interior Ministry, he stated. He said he considered the affairs to be campaigns of disinformation and polititisation of criminal cases. People who fear big reorganisations at the Interior Ministry, or those who left the ministry and are interested in changing the composition of its present leadership, are behind these affairs, Ruml stressed.

Commenting on the dramatic rise in crime in the Czech Republic against late 1989 (when the communist regime was toppled in Czechoslovakia), Ruml noted that 85 per cent of all crimes committed involve property.

The ministry's senior official Jan Vaculik said that ever better organised crime was a problem not only in the Czech Republic but in the whole of Europe as well. The Czech police is well ready to face it, Vaculik underlined. The offenders in the Czech Republic mainly include Chinese, Vietnamese, Bulgarians, citizens of the former Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union. Activities of Italian mafia have been registered as well, Vaculik said.

He dismissed the allegation that organised crime had already infiltrated Czech state administration.

Benefits for Low-Income Families Approved

AU2708154693 Prague CTK in English 1706 GMT
25 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 25 (CTK)—The government today approved a draft law on housing benefit, designed to reduce the effect of rent liberalisation on people with low incomes.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said that benefits averaging 150 crowns a month would be paid to tenants who had incomes lower than three tenths above the minimum, adding that this would affect about 20 percent of Czechs over the next two years. After that, benefits would be paid only to invalids and people over 72.

The government also decided to increase child benefits, and to change the law to make payments no longer dependent on the number of children in the family, but on the child's age. Benefits will range from 340 crowns (about 11 USD) a month for a child of under 6 to 490 crowns for a student over 15.

Klaus said that only families with one or two children would be better off under the changed system. So that the financial situation of families with more children would not get worse, their previous level of payments would be preserved.

Daily Calls For Resignation of Prosecutor General

AU2708155293 Prague CTK in English 0715 GMT
25 Aug 93

[Excerpt] Prague, August 25 (CTK)—[Passage omitted] MLADA FRONTA DNES, referring to the case of Czech Prosecutor General Jiri Setina, who is currently being accused by the press of fraud in connection with his illegally obtaining a community apartment, writes that Setina should leave not only the apartment but first of all his post.

The daily is thus commenting the Tuesday's ordinance of the Prague City Council, which suggests that Setina rescind the housing contract voluntarily and leave the apartment on the grounds that he had provided incomplete and imprecise data about his housing situation in his application.

Setina made a mistake which is inexcusable in his case. It is not the opinion of merely the mass media but also of the government coalition which had pushed him through to the post of prosecutor general, the daily writes.

It notes that the coalition Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party had already made clear that Setina should resign from his post. Other coalition partners—the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA)—also do not consider Setina's remaining in office appropriate. So the matter should find its solution and the coalition should take a decisive step—to dismiss Setina—in case he does not resign on his own, the daily concludes.

The right-oriented CESKY DENIK, commenting on the same topic, writes that although the whole affair surrounding Setina's obtaining a community apartment appears unbelievably banal, it has catastrophic consequences for the prosecutor general. The story with the apartment served merely as a catalyst and not as a cause for Setina's position to be threatened. The cause should be looked for not only in the fact that the results of Setina's activity as prosecutor general did not fulfill the expectations of the government coalition, but also in the interests of those for whom the prosecutor general, being uncompromising and unsatisfied with the old structures of the State Security service, was a thorn in the side, the daily writes. Setina has yet little choice. The town hall demands that he leave the apartment while at least part of the government coalition calls for his resignation, the daily adds. [passage omitted]

Realistic Bloc Establishes Shadow Cabinet

AU3008080893 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
24 Aug 93 p 3

[report by "(ke)": "The Realistic Bloc Is Forming a Shadow Cabinet"]

[Text] Brno—"The Realistic Bloc's expert teams are groups that, to a certain extent, but not, however, exclusively, emulate the activity of the individual ministries.

This means that they try to air their views—first and foremost—on conceptual issues,” emphasized Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] Chairman Milos Zeman at Monday's [23 August] press briefing in Brno. His party, along with the Liberal Social Union and the Christian Social Union [KSU], founded the Realistic Bloc on 30 June. The post of ombudsman should also be created within their shadow cabinet, although it has no official counterpart in the Czech Republic. “There is not much support within the government coalition for establishing such a post, because, after the Macek, Setina, Kozeny, and Wallis affairs, it is obviously convinced that it does not need an ombudsman,” said Zeman. Representatives from the Realistic Bloc's parties signed its organizational regulations on Monday. The Coordination Committee then appointed Ladislav Bologh (KSU) its secretary and Pavel Dostal (CSSD) and Jaroslav Vlcek (Green Party) coordinators of the teams responsible for cultural and defense and security issues. The number of chairmen of these groups has thus increased to seven.

Bank Official on Current Economic Developments

AEU2708202993 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
26 Aug 93 p 9

[Article by Jiri Pospisil, banking board member and Czech National Bank director general: “The Central Bank Has Been Satisfied With Development”]

[Text] The reduction of the discount rate to 8 percent, the adjustment of the compulsory minimum reserves for commercial banks, and the subsequent reduction of the Lombard Rate are the reaction of the Czech National Bank to the continuing improvement of the monetary situation. Our analyses indicate that from the point of view of monetary policy, a very complex period has just ended—affected by the partition of the federation and the introduction of the new taxation system—that started in the middle of 1992, and was particularly characterized by the decline in our foreign currency reserves and increased inflation.

The central bank was forced to react to this development by a stricter monetary policy limiting the money supply in the economy. The extent of the refinancing of the commercial banks was reduced, base rates increased, and the funds that banks had to deposit with the central bank were increased.

The pivotal point was the currency division. The situation on the inter-bank foreign currency market changed almost immediately and dramatically, the decline in foreign currency reserves stopped, and the reserves have been growing ever since. After the 8.5 percent price increase in January, the situation was improving by as early as February, and the upward pressure on prices prompted by the tax reform gradually wore off in the subsequent months. Thus, since April, the consumer price inflation has been hovering around 0.5 percent per month.

Our analyses indicate that this trend is not about to change in the future, which justifies our estimate of consumer price increases of under 10 percent, somewhere between 7 and 9 percent. Nevertheless, the struggle against inflation is never-ending. Its future reduction depends on how competition progresses on the Czech market.

The development since currency division has, however, facilitated a liberalization of monetary policy, which has been demonstrated by the decline of the interest rates on deposits in the inter-bank market, and with commercial banks lowering their rates on credit, savings, and deposits. The liberalization of monetary policy was also aided by the exceptional growth of the Czech National Bank's foreign currency reserves, which reached \$2.9 billion (the banking system's reserves amount to \$5.4 billion) and thus are larger than the reserves of the former Czechoslovak State Bank. This reflects not only the growing confidence in the new Czech koruna but also the favorable development on the balance of payments current account, which shows a surplus of more than \$300 million achieved in just six months. Increased exports under conditions of continuing recession—with the major markets as high as 8 percent—represent a very favorable trend.

Because of the increased imports, the balance of trade ended in the first half with a moderate deficit, which reflects higher investment imports, as was expected. The trade deficit is, however, more than balanced out by the surplus in the service sector (tourism and transport), which—together with the renewed flow of direct investment and revenue from the issue of Czech National Bank bonds on the financial markets—causes the growth in the foreign currency reserves.

The improving economic prospects of the Czech Republic have been reflected in the classification of the international rating firms Moody's and Standard & Poor's, which deal with the assessment of the risks connected with investing in individual countries. The Czech Republic has attained a higher rating than the former CSFR, and has been classified as a country suitable for investment.

The current favorable development is not expected to change before the end of the year, and the current account should end in a moderate surplus, or at worst it should be balanced. On the other hand, the development in the GDP—which gauges the performance of the economy—was rather weak in the first half of 1993. Official estimates indicate a decline of 0.9 percent in comparison with the first half of 1992. The developments in industry and agriculture—sectors in which the break-even point in the transformation process has not yet been reached—were the least favorable factor. This reflects the drop of more than 20 percent in Czech trade with Slovakia from the volume reached just a year ago. The impact, however, is not as dramatic as some scenarios indicated.

Moreover, it seems that the statistical data for the first quarter have been affected by hoarding, and speculative advanced invoicing from the last quarter of 1992 (on expectations of higher prices as a result of the introduction of the value added tax). The decline in performance in the first quarter is certainly connected with the temporary decline in domestic demand in the area of private consumption (the fastest growth of prices at the beginning of the year restrained retail sales) and investment induced by the delay in the conclusion of the first wave of coupon privatization.

The development in the second quarter indicates an improvement signalled by growing private consumption stimulated by higher income particularly in wages. Wage developments at the end of the first half of 1993 cause concern but at the same time they will apparently further stimulate domestic consumption.

The development in construction at the end of the first half of 1993, and the increase of the share taken in imports by machines and equipment, indicate a investment recovery that should further improve in the coming months. The surplus reached in the state budget in the first half mostly had a stabilization effect, the retroactively approved expenditure, and the trend towards balanced revenues and expenditure will support growth in production at the end of the year and greater demand in the public sector. As recent experience indicates, it is not very likely that the performance of the economy in the second half would significantly affect the bankruptcy process. Most probably there will be the opposite problems with its sufficient intensity, which could eliminate the perpetually low payment, and often also spending, discipline of the enterprises. The attained level of internal and external monetary stability—which makes room for the further fall in interest rates—is providing better conditions for economic recovery.

To sum up, I believe that an estimate for moderate growth in the second half of 1993, and a gradual acceleration in 1994 with a stabilized development in prices and the external trade position, would not be an exaggeration.

Report Outlines Options in Anti-Drug Program

AU3008055093 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech
24 Aug 93 p 13

[CTK report: "An Increase in Drug Distribution and Use Is Anticipated"]

[Text] Prague—Domestic and foreign experts anticipate that during the next five years, the illegal drugs market in the Czech Republic will grow and that drug use will increase. They also agree that Czech society is not sufficiently prepared for this.

This information comes from the Anti-Drug Policy Concept and Program approved by the government on 18 August. Implementing the tasks contained in the anti-drug program in 1994 will require, in comparison with

1993, an extra 45.5 million korunas from the state budget. The overall cost of the anti-drug program for the years 1994-96 is estimated at 243 million korunas, which is almost 100 percent more than for 1993.

Two options for anticipated development were drafted from the observations made by the experts. The first of these is based on the premise that the West European level is rapidly attained, a level in which drug use would reach the figures normal in Germany or Holland. At the same time, the number of registered drug addicts would increase by up to 400 percent and would reach 20,000; half of them would be in Prague.

The second option for anticipated development is based on the slower distribution of drugs whereby, during the course of five years, the number of registered addicts would increase by only 50-100 percent. It envisages that drugs produced domestically (first and foremost, for economic reasons) would dominate the local market.

According to the World Health Organization's (WHO) figures, drug dependence was determined in 5,500 people in the Czech Republic in 1991, 2,500 of whom live in Prague. It estimates that the number of unregistered addicts is three to 10 times higher. According to the preliminary research, the number of people dependent on drugs up to 1992 increased by more than 3,300. Marijuana, hashish, pervitin, and hydrocodon (brown) are among the most widely available drugs in the Czech Republic.

The inter-departmental anti-drug commission has recommended in the Concept that, apart from manufacturing drugs, growing certain species of plants should also be subject to prosecution. It also proposed that drug users who do not commit any other crimes remain free from prosecution and that maintaining drugs for personal use also remain free from prosecution. However, the law should clarify the specific drugs and the amounts permitted for personal use.

During the first six months of this year, a total of 8.7 kilograms of cocaine, 12.5 kilograms of heroin, and 1 kilogram of codeine were seized in the Czech Republic in 60 operations and seven drugs manufacturing laboratories were discovered.

Poll Reveals Government Leaders Losing Support

LD2708170693 Prague CTK in English 1609 GMT
27 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 27 (CTK)—Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy remains by far the most popular Czech politician. However, confidence in the government, parliament and their leaders dropped in August, according to a poll conducted by the Centre of Empirical Research among 1,507 Czech citizens on August 2-10.

The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) received 30 per cent of votes preference in the poll, but it registered a four per

cent decline in the number of its followers against a similar poll conducted in July.

Diouhy was favoured by 83 per cent of those questioned. Transport minister and former Czechoslovak premier Jan Strasky came second with 69 per cent of followers. Following are Premier Vaclav Klaus and Jiri Dienstbier, chairman of the Civic Movement (former foreign minister) with 68 and 67 per cent respectively.

The popularity of all government politicians slightly dropped, according to the poll. The biggest decline was registered with Agriculture Minister Josef Lux, who dropped from the 8th to the 17th place of the popularity rate, being viewed negatively by 60 per cent of those polled.

A marked decline of confidence was registered with the government. While its work was praised by 61 per cent citizens in July, the August poll registered only 50 per cent of respondents viewing the government positively.

President Vaclav Havel is trusted by 68 per cent of Czechs. The people's confidence in Havel continues to be stable. Premier Klaus is trusted by 64 per cent, chairman of the parliament Milan Uhde by 35 per cent of those questioned.

The poll showed that the people's willingness to participate in possible elections is high and stable (64 per cent of citizens responded positively). If those who have been hesitating so far took part, the total of participants would be 83 per cent of the Czech population.

Church Disagrees With ODS on Property Restitution

AU2708154793 Prague CTK in English 1110 GMT
25 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 25 (CTK)—The Catholic Church is not immediately capable of taking all appurtenant social, educational, charitable and health facilities under its administration and securing their function, Miloslav Fiala, press spokesman for the Czech Episcopal Conference, told CTK today.

Fiala, responding to the concept of the so-called right of user which was approved by the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) at the last meeting of the coalition commission for resolving questions of future relations between church and state, said that those who proposed the plan were aware of this.

The church, he said, is proposing an approach to the return of its property by which it would take over several institutions immediately, but would leave a number of others until the gradual growth of engagement of the church enables it to fully assume operation.

The ODS links the return of church property confiscated by the state after the 1948 communist coup with the right of user, that is, with the running of the property by its new owner. The specific kind of operation—in the social and educational spheres—would be decided by the state. If the church is ready to take over this obligation, the property will be returned. If not, it cannot get the property back, said Martin Kocourek, ODS adviser to the premier.

Fiala said that nothing prevents the church from assuming control of property which up until February 25, 1948 it operated for health care, charitable, social and educational purposes. He said that the church's claims on this property, which until now has been administered wherever possible by the church, and in the remainder of cases the state or some form of mixed administration, were undisputed.

Fiala said he welcomed the fact that church delegates may be invited to the next meeting of the coalition commission, which will discuss, until the end of August, proposals of policies for the coming legislative government meeting. This is a positive step which could lead to the resolution of the remaining questions, he said.

He also expressed the conviction that the possible return of church property did not threaten the development of the economy or its transformation. The church is well aware that it must respect the principles of the market economy and competition. On the other hand, it knows that even economic development is dependent on the maintenance of fundamental moral principles, he said.

Meciar on Results of Good Relations With Russia

LD2708165393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] To start with, let us go back to yesterday's visit of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to Bratislava and to the signing of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between our two countries, which has been generating so much discussion in our country. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar speaks.

[Begin Meciar recording] While at one time we used to speak of Moscow in derogatory terms because for us it represented a symbol of oppression and totality, a symbol of suppression of national freedom, and a symbol of a system which was alien to us, now we cannot fail to see that Moscow itself is changing and that it is striving to form a model of a state based on democratic principles, that it is not attempting to create power, economic, and political blocs, but that its endeavor is to promote the unification process in Europe. Since not all in Moscow want this, it is our duty to back those who want it.

The discussion, which took place before the treaty was signed, was not very factual. The main item which was challenged was Article Four. It stipulates that a state would not make its territory available for waging an aggression towards another state. This is a rule which is generally valid and which keeps repeatedly appearing in UN documents and thus no matter whether it is written in this article or not it is still in force. Therefore challenging this principle was in effect unprofessional.

Furthermore, suspicions that Slovakia and Russia did not seek coming to terms with their totalitarian past were unnecessary, because already during my visit to Moscow, during my talks with Mr. Yeltsin, we actually agreed to jointly denounce the totalitarian past and to put a full stop behind the consequences of 1968. So, although the negative aspects related to the process of concluding this treaty have gone, we should focus on the contradictory nature of the development in Russia. Political parties in Russia are weak. The strongest of them is the Communist Party with approximately 500,000 strong membership. The country's territory is enormous and the centrifugal tendencies of individual territorial units are continuing. There is also a large number of specific interests. We must bear in mind events that are taking place in the republics of the former Soviet Union. Fighting goes on in the Caucasus. Russia is involved in Abkhazia and intends to stay there under U.S. auspices. There is fighting in Kazakhstan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, and in other republics of Central Asia. Quite strong pressure is being exerted by some armed groups on poorly guarded borders. Thus one side of the coin is that the political disintegration of the state and the influence exerted on the republics of the former Soviet Union from outside are continuing.

On the other hand, one can observe a different trend—that a common market is beginning to be set up on the

territory of the former Soviet Union and the Commonwealth of Independent States. This trend is very strong and almost all are backing to it nowadays. There is a realistic prerequisite that an integrated market could be formed. This market could give enormous opportunities to everyone from outside who cares to step in.

If we were to make a comparison between our country and Russia in terms of size, then the difference would lie in the size of the territory and in the numbers of inhabitants. It would not lie in matters we are trying to tackle. Slovakia's experience from switching to reform and transformation is so rich that while we do not presume to preach, we deserve to be heard. Furthermore, there is a good chance—the chance that is springing up for us and that is as exceptional today as it will ever be—to create several supra-national companies which would be involved in exchanging goods and power between East and West. In this respect we have a unique chance. We still have this chance and we will be having it for a few more weeks. Our wasting it would be an absolute sin of those who will be responsible for it. They are not just the government. They are company directors and others. [end recording]

Ω Meciar, Moric Consider Switch to Presidential System

93P20292A

[Editorial Report] Against the backdrop of the currently stalemated coalition talks between the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS), Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is reported by the press to favor replacing the current Slovak parliamentary system with a presidential system. The Bratislava daily NARODNA OBRODA of 30 July reported that Meciar "pushed the idea" of a presidential system "for two hours" at an HZDS presidium meeting, although without success. Meciar again raised the subject in a 16 August NARODNA OBRODA interview, asserting that the presidential system was under "consideration" because political instability in Slovakia would not be "conducive to the stabilization of parties." Because unstable parties "cannot stabilize parliament," Meciar argued, there was a need for a "transition to an American-style presidential model, which would stabilize at least executive power." "The Bulgarians, Russians and Poles," Meciar noted, "have already assimilated some elements of that model." While advocating a more powerful presidency, Meciar said that he did "not know" whether he would run for such an office if it were constituted.

Former SNS chairman Vitazoslav Moric, a possible Meciar ally, has also expressed his support for adopting a presidential system. According to the 13 August Bratislava daily SME, there have been meetings between Moric and Meciar in which Moric has offered to influence SNS members to switch their support to Meciar from current party chairman Ludovit Cernak. In an interview with the Czech daily CESKY DENIK on 10

August Moric declared that the Slovak president "must have greater powers than he has at present," and expressed the "hope that this will happen soon." Moric said that these new presidential powers should be gained "at the expense of parliament" rather than the government, arguing that "in some matters collective decision-making is no advantage. An individual is better able to make a decision and bear individual responsibility. Consensus seeking can be a brake on fast and correct decisionmaking."

Moric has also indicated his support for Meciar as a potential Slovak president. In an expanded version of the CESKY DENIK interview published by the Bratislava daily, NARODNA OBRADA on 11 August under the headline, "Weak Economy Needs A Strong Arm," Moric declared that "at a time of economic disintegration, the government must have a strong arm at the helm." When the interviewer commented that Moric seemed to be implying that "such a type of 'strong-arm' politician is already in power in Slovakia," Moric replied: "Yes, we have him, and we must take advantage of it."

Meciar Still Most Trusted Politician in Republic

AU2708155493 Prague CTK in English 1418 GMT
25 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava August 25 (CTK)—The most trusted Slovak politician, according to a July survey, is Premier Vladimir Meciar, who is trusted by 24 percent of Slovaks, 2 percent more than in June.

Second in the survey of 1,244 adult Slovaks conducted by the Slovak Statistical Office was President Michal Kovac, with 23 percent (no change from June). Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Peter Weiss came third with 19 percent (17 percent in June) while Chairman of the Slovak Parliament Ivan Gasparovic gained 11 percent (8 percent in June).

Other politicians, including Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Chairman and Former Premier Jan Carnogursky (4 percent) were trusted by less than 5 percent of the sample.

However, 38 percent of those questioned said they did not trust any Slovak politician.

Kovac Interviewed on Economy, Foreign Relations

AU3008094593 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian
20 Aug 93 p 9

[Interview with President Michal Kovac, by Nevena Andonova and Albena Shkodrova; place and date not given: "'Federation With Czech Republic Was Not a Suitable Economic Framework'"]

[Excerpt] [STANDART] At the time Czechoslovakia was divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the

two states envisaged open borders, a customs alliance, and a common currency. What prevented the implementation of all this?

[Kovac] Despite our country's political willingness, it was impossible to preserve the common currency. As far as the introduction of minimum border control is concerned, this is the result of an emerging situation, viewed against a wider European background of a broader European scope, and outside Czech-Slovak relations. The customs alliance function assumes key importance in our EC relations.

[STANDART] Has the federal property finally been divided between the Czech Republic and Slovakia?

[Kovac] We have not finished this process. However, what remains is a very small part. What must yet be done has a purely technical character. I am sure that this process will be brought to a conclusion without politicizing it. This in the interest of further cooperation between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which continues to be broad and diversified.

[STANDART] Slovakia inherited Czechoslovakia's status as a Danubian state. How do you see cooperation between our countries, whose economy is connected through the river economy?

[Kovac] Naturally, our country is aware of its status as a Danubian state and acts according to it. Slovakia wants to create optimal conditions to alleviate traffic along the Danube within its borders. This is why we constructed the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project, which unfortunately became the subject of a dispute between Slovakia and Hungary. Despite the fact that Gabcikovo is in the initial phase of exploitation, it significantly improved transportation possibilities along the river. In addition, there is no evidence of any ecological deterioration. We want to cooperate with other countries, especially Hungary, in further improving this facility. I am sure that it will serve all Balkan states, including Bulgaria.

[STANDART] Slovakia inherited all Czechoslovak agreements. Nevertheless, what changes do you anticipate in the agreements with Bulgaria?

[Kovac] Slovakia is one of the former state's heirs. All the countries that recognized us accepted the validity of existing relations with the two new countries. This involves 2,800 treaties and agreements.

We are glad that agreements with Bulgaria fall into this category. However, the contractual basis of our relations continues to develop. New necessities develop with the changes. Slovakia is prepared to discuss the signing of new agreements, predominantly agreements that would facilitate the development of economic cooperation under market conditions. [passage omitted]

Moravcik Rejects Claim of Hungarian Interference

LD2908103993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by correspondent Ildiko Nagy in Bratislava; date not given; from the "World Clock" program; Moravcik speaks in Slovak with superimposed translation—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[Nagy] Let me put to you Austrian Defense Minister Werner Fasslabend's recently published statement about the danger of an eventual Slovak-Hungarian armed conflict. Your ministry's stance on this issue—namely to reject this view—is well known, and we can take this as the opinion of the government as well.

At the same time, Minister [Roman] Hofbauer [minister of transport, communications, and public works], is also a member of this government, and in the 20 August issue of LITERARNY TYZDENIK he wrote the following in his article entitled "Munich Days," and I quote: Hungary is crudely interfering in Slovakia's internal affairs, and Hungarian longing to see Poland as its northern neighbor is gathering strength. [no reference to closing of quotation as heard]. Minister, do you not think that opinions of this kind could destroy all your endeavors aimed at developing good-neighborly relations, be it with Austria, Hungary, or any other neighbor?

[Moravcik] Mr. Hofbauer was doubtless expressing his private opinion. This could not be the stance of a government member, of a minister, because after all he is not competent to express an opinion on these issues. If he was making his statement as a private individual, no significant objection can be taken to it in a well-functioning democracy.

I can only repeat that Slovakia is seriously interested in the earliest possible signing of a treaty with Hungary, similar to the one concluded with Russia. We are talking of a modern cooperation and friendship treaty, a small part of the complex of European security. This is extremely important. We will do everything to bring this into being as soon as possible.

It is in our interest that cooperation between Slovakia and Hungary should satisfy the strategic objectives of both countries and their full integration into the European political, economic, and security system.

Anniversary of National Uprising Celebrated

LD2808190693 Prague CTK in English 1709 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Martin, central Slovakia/Bratislava, August 28 (CTK)—The main celebration of the 49th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising (SNP) began today in Martin with a meeting of former members of the 2nd Czechoslovak independent parachute brigade established in the Soviet Union during the World War Two. The celebration was also attended by a French delegation headed by French Ambassador to Slovakia Michel Perrin, which included representatives of French partisans who fought within the SNP.

Addressing the meeting, Mayor of Martin Stefan Jokl pointed to the SNP's importance and to the fact that at the time, when some forces were trying to challenge the significance of the event, the leaders of the Slovak state appreciated it and recognised its goals.

The two delegations commemorated the fallen French partisans and laid wreaths at the memorial of SNP soldiers in Martin-Priekop.

In Bratislava, the celebration took place under the aegis of the Municipal Antifascist Fighters' Association. It is to culminate by a partisan bonfire in the afternoon.

Antall, French Minister Discuss Cooperation*LD2708170193 Budapest MTI in English 1631 GMT
27 Aug 93*

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—Cooperation between Hungary and France has developed very well over the past three years and France has become a strategically important partner for Hungary said Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and French Minister of Defence Francois Leotard, in Budapest on Friday.

Leotard expressed France's recognition of Hungary's sound handling of the south Slav war and its humanitarian repercussions.

Antall discussed economic effects of the U.N. embargo against rump Yugoslavia, and stressed the importance of foreign compensation for third countries like Hungary, as well as the responsibility felt for Hungarians living in Vojvodina, and the moral and financial obligations in receiving refugees.

Antall saw relations with NATO as vital. He said the integration of the Central and Eastern European region into the North Atlantic military group is good for all concerned.

The French minister assured Antall of France's strong support for Hungarian ideas on membership of the European Community, and for the region's long-term security.

Leotard on Bosnian Conflict*LD2808015693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2303
GMT 27 Aug 93*

[Text] Budapest, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—French Defense Minister Francois Leotard said on Friday he did not believe NATO air strikes would end the crisis in war-shattered Bosnia-Herzegovina, which could only be resolved through peace talks in Geneva.

Speaking at the close of his one-day visit to Budapest, Leotard said that all international factors should help along the Geneva effort to reach a generally acceptable solution to the problem of Bosnia.

On the subject of enlarging NATO to include Hungary and some other eastern European countries, the French minister told reporters he did not believe the question of enlarging NATO was topical at this time.

Foreign Ministry Case for NATO Membership*LD2708190793 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT
27 Aug 93*

["Foreign Ministry Communique on Future NATO Membership of Central European Countries"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is satisfied to note that, as the NATO

summit draws closer, more and more people in the NATO member countries recognize that the membership of the central European countries in the organization serves not only the security of those countries, but is in the interest of NATO itself, whose role is undergoing transformation.

Hungary has for long stressed, and the Hungarian prime minister and foreign minister have consistently represented at international forums the position that the NATO membership of central European countries is in the interest of Russian democratic forces, just as the victory of the democratic Russian forces is a priority interest for Europe, including Hungary.

The Hungarian Government was among the first to support President Boris Yeltsin and democratic reformers when they were threatened inside Russia. The argument that Hungary's NATO membership poses a threat to Russia therefore makes no sense.

The Foreign Ministry welcomes that President Boris Yeltsin has now publicly confirmed in Poland that the democratic leadership of Russia does not oppose the NATO membership of central European countries, and sees this as a step for stability, one as much in the interests of Russia as any other European country.

Hungary's government would like the NATO summit to take concrete steps to clearly and unambiguously protect the security of central European countries mature for membership, alongside additional protection of NATO countries' security.

This would involve a timetable leading to NATO membership for eastern European countries.

Funds Earmarked for Compensation Against Sanctions*LD2708211893 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1645
GMT 27 Aug 93*

[Excerpt] The government has decided to earmark 235 million forints (Ft) from the supplementary budget for a partial compensation of losses caused by the embargo against the Little Yugoslavia. The observation of UN sanctions has caused losses of about \$800 million, that is more than Ft70 billion at the current exchange rate, for Hungary this year. Government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz has informed journalists about it. Further details from our correspondent.

[Correspondent] Investment projects to develop the water and sewage system of the villages of Szigetkoecz [region between main branches of Danube, near Gab-cikovo Dam] can be started as early as this year and can be completed by the end of 1995. According to plans, a biological sewage purification system will be built in Rajka, Hedervar, and Kunsziget. [passage omitted]

Conference Statement Urges National Cohesion

*LD2908174293 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT
29 Aug 93*

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—The weeklong conference "For Hungarian Revival" today ended with a statement in Balatonszarszo at Lake Balaton.

According to the document, more than 1,500 representatives of Hungarian intellectual and political life met to review crucial questions affecting Hungarians, discuss the national policy, economic and cultural tasks deciding their future and provide a forum for different opinions.

Participants, albeit representing diverse views, aimed at forging national cohesion. They agreed that a historic, moral and political responsibility should be undertaken for the survival of Hungarians. The frameworks of constitutional statehood need to be preserved, and the system of democratic legal institutions continuously developed. It is necessary to work out and implement a comprehensive modernization programme for the nation and the country, the statement says.

Participants saw a need for common responsibility for Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin, as well as for calling to account people guilty of autocratic crimes - regardless of the passage of time - according to Hungarian law, and for preventing political party interests from gaining the upper hand over national interests.

Participants proposed convening a national roundtable and drafting a national reconstruction programme out of their common will that all members of the nation can have a say in handling the nation's affairs.

Current Account Improves in July, August

*AU2708170293 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT
26 Aug 93*

[Text] Budapest, 26 August (MTI-ECONESWS)—The current account improved gradually in July and August. Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian National Bank (MNB) Frigyes Harshegyi, told MTI.

He said that if the trend continued in the following months, the deficit was not expected to significantly exceed \$1.5 billion by the end of the year.

Harshegyi said that the deficit in the current account amounted to \$1.5 billion by the end of July. The figures for August, however, showed a more favorable picture.

The national bank did not have to intervene in any significant way on the interbank foreign exchange market in July and August. This indicated that the foreign exchange market had become more or less balanced, with the foreign cash inflow covering the deficit in the current account over the last two months.

In the first six months, foreign cash investment worth \$700 million flowed into the country. In the second half

of this year the figure is expected to grow, which means that the deficit in the balance of payments is unlikely to increase significantly.

Hungary still has foreign exchange reserves of more than \$5 billion, while at the end of last year the amount was \$4.3 billion.

The MNB must repay \$700 million before the end of the year. This will be covered by a 1 billion German marks MNB bond issue carried out in Germany recently.

Next year, principal repayment commitments will amount to \$2 billion. Since the foreign exchange situation of the country continues to be stable, Harshegyi does not believe a significant devaluation in the forint will be necessary in the remainder of this year.

When the forint was devalued by 3 percent in July, Hungarian National Bank directors said that new measures might be introduced by the Central Bank Council in August, should the foreign trade balance and the current balance of payments worsen.

Harshegyi said, however, that the next session of the Central Bank Council was now expected to be held in September.

EBRD Grants \$103 Million Loan for Agriculture

*AU2708170693 Budapest MTI in English 1211 GMT
26 Aug 93*

[Text] Budapest, 26 August (MTI)—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) will grant a loan of \$103 million to help restructure Hungary's agricultural sector.

Repayment will be guaranteed by the Hungarian state under an agreement signed in Budapest on Thursday [25 August] by Finance Deputy State Secretary Balazs Botos and EBRD Deputy President Mario Sarcinelli.

The EBRD will provide the funds to four Hungarian commercial banks, the National Commercial and Creditbank, National Savings Bank, Budapest Bank, and Hungarian Credit Bank.

The funds are to support small and medium-sized agrarian ventures with medium-term and long-term loans.

The loan expires in 10 years, with a three-year period of grace.

Agriculture State Secretary Gyorgy Rasko told MTI the EBRD loan was the first long-term funding for Hungarian agriculture since the transformation to a market economy.

Prime Minister Suchocka Joins Electoral Campaign

LD2808171993 Warsaw PAP in English 1634 GMT
28 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw Aug. 28—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka joined the electoral campaign on Saturday explaining that she did this so late because her duties as prime minister are more important.

Suchocka tops the Democratic Union's (UD) list of candidates for parliamentary seats. She took part in a UD electoral convention held at the Polski Theatre in Warsaw on Saturday.

She told the convention that her party and her government had never bowed under the pressure of other political parties or trade unions which tried to force it make wrong economic decisions.

UD candidate number 2 and the party leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki told the same convention that there is no alternative road for Poland other than strengthening democracy and "social market economy" supported by the Democratic Union.

Another UD candidate and now Minister of Labour Jacek Kuron explained that the social market economy includes the reforms of the local government, the state enterprise pact, and negotiation as the main way of solving such problems as social insurance, health care, or farming.

The Democratic Union was established after the presidential elections in December, 1990. Membership 12,000.

Describes Election Plans

LD2808205393 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] There is no other way for Poland other than consolidating democracy and a socially-oriented market economy. The Democratic Union [UD] is a party that has chosen this particular way. Tadeusz Mazowiecki said at an electoral convention of the UD in Warsaw today.

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has started her election campaign. She emphasized that the UD did not want compromises at any price, particularly if they involved pushing through irrational economic decisions. During a break in the deliberations, the prime minister explained to journalists how her election campaign would be managed.

[Begin Suchocka recording] More or less the same way as election campaigns are run in all countries. That is, during the week I shall try to do perform my normal prime ministerial duties and I shall run the election campaign at the weekends, by devoting my spare time to it. In fact, [former] Prime Minister Mazowiecki ran his election campaign in a similar way. [end recording]

[Announcer] Asked about the government's attitude to the demand by the Lithuanian political parties that the Union of Poles in Lithuania be disbanded, among other things, the prime minister replied:

[Begin Suchocka recording] Our position is that of international standards. If it turns out that the decisions taken by the [Lithuanian] parties are followed by government decisions, which may be in breach of international standards, then we shall demand that international standards protecting the rights of minorities be observed, particularly the rights of Poles living in Lithuania. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] According to Prime Minister Suchocka the decision was taken at the right time. This decision is to ensure the economic profitability of exports.

Suchocka Promises Measures To Boost Agriculture

LD2908165293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1600 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka was today staying in Zamosc Province. At a meeting in Bilgoraj this afternoon with parish elders and provincial authorities of the region, the prime minister announced that the government will be looking for ways to provide effective credits for agriculture, and possibilities to support our agricultural products on European markets.

Prime Minister Suchocka said that the government did not intend to lift the restrictions on imports of meat, and that it was planning intervention on procurement of powdered milk surpluses, which have accumulated as a result of the competition with Russian producers on the western market.

At a meeting with residents of the Frampol parish, the prime minister announced that the government was going to renegotiate the agreements with the European Community on the sale of black and red currants, and that she wanted to regulate the situation in the tobacco industry in order to increase the demand for tobacco produced by Polish farmers.

At a meeting with the authorities of the Zamosc Province, Prime Minister Suchocka said that the government wanted to support local initiatives involving regional development.

Defense Minister on NATO, SLD, Russia

WS2708091593 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Studio interview with Janusz Onyszkiewicz, defense minister and Sejm deputy candidate on UD (Democratic Union) ticket, by Krzysztof Skowronski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] Why did Poland need Russia's permission to join NATO?

[Onyszkiewicz] Of course we did not need any permission and we do not need it now. We are a sovereign country, we can make decisions on our own, and we do indeed make them. Nevertheless, the fact that Russia did not have any objections and recognized this right of Poland, and that it also recognized that the possible entry of Poland into NATO does not conflict with Russia's interests, that fact is important to the extent that it removes certain fears which our Western partners have had [words indistinct] precisely NATO partners.

[Skowronski, interrupting] What kind of fears were they?

[Onyszkiewicz] The issue was about not antagonizing Russia, about not adding arguments against President Yeltsin which could be used by very radical groups, nationalist groups, and about not heating up the situation in Russia.

[Skowronski] Did we promise anything for this lack of objections expressed by President Yeltsin? Did we, did Poland oblige itself to anything?

[Onyszkiewicz] No, absolutely not. I simply think that President Yeltsin bought arguments which are simply really about this: Poland's entry into the structures of an integrating Europe is an issue which has already been determined, while it may be very important for Russia that Poland, which is entering those structures, contribute to enlarging the areas of stability in Europe. That is also in Russia's interests.

[Skowronski] In yesterday's *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, there was a commentary in which it was said that Poland obliged itself not to implement its interests in Ukraine, in Lithuania, or in the Baltic states, in a very aggressive way.

[Onyszkiewicz] Our cooperation with Ukraine, Belarus, or with the Baltic states is a kind of cooperation which could hardly be called aggressive. I think it is simply a cooperation whose purpose is the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and security in all central-eastern Europe.

[Skowronski] And why do we need NATO at all?

[Onyszkiewicz] The choice of NATO is, I would say, the choice of a political orientation, it is a consequence of Poland joining the process of European integration. That is the primary reason. We are not entering NATO because we think that Poland is faced with some terrible danger and we need some kind of umbrella. We will simply be a valuable partner in NATO precisely because we are a strong, stable country which has something to offer.

[Skowronski] And are we a strong and stable country?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that if we look at the political scene in central-eastern Europe, if we look in those terms, we are both a stable country and quite a strong one.

[Skowronski] When could this entry into NATO take place, and how would it happen in organizational terms? Would American troops be stationed in Poland, or would it be some other way?

[Onyszkiewicz] The issue of stationing troops is excluded. In any event, it is not the case that generally speaking, foreign troops are stationed in NATO countries. There are no foreign troops in Norway, there are no foreign troops in Denmark, there are practically none in Portugal — the list could go on. What would it mean? It simply would mean that Poland would enter the military structure, that Polish officers and generals would be included in NATO Headquarters, it would mean that we would have to adapt commanding structures, and also for instance communications, we would have to adapt them to NATO standards. I do not want to discuss technical details here, but Poland would simply join the group of countries which together decide about their future, and I think also about stability throughout the continent.

[Skowronski] But when could it happen?

[Onyszkiewicz] It is very difficult to say. There is no panic or rush

[Skowronski, interrupting] Before the year 2000?

[Onyszkiewicz] Yes, I think so.

[Skowronski] And can we afford it? Is our Army not too obsolete, is its equipment not too obsolete?

[Onyszkiewicz] Our Army does not have obsolete equipment, even though the equipment is getting older and it may soon become obsolete. But when we talk about our equipment and compare it with NATO's equipment, we mainly look to the fundamental countries within the alliance, like Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, or the United States. Let us not forget that the alliance also includes countries like Portugal, Greece, or even Italy whose equipment somehow does not meet the standards of the technical fireworks which can be seen in the main armies.

[Skowronski] Why did you say yesterday that a SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] victory will delay our possible entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that is understandable to the extent that SLD, up to this moment, is still hesitating on whether Poland should join NATO at all. That, by the way, can be seen in all kinds of journalistic pieces by leading SLD officials. If there is no will, then on the other hand some resistance will be understandable.

[Skowronski] Are you afraid of a success by SLD, a success of the left, the post-communist left, in these elections?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not panic as far as this kind of prospect is concerned. The electorate will, of course, decide that. But I think it would be quite an unfortunate

sign of certain processes that are going on in Poland, and I think that could weaken the different processes that are happening right now, I mean the processes of integrating Poland.

[Skowronski] In the future Parliament, we will certainly have UD [Democratic Union], and SLD. Is it your prediction that there could be some cooperation, or to go even further, a coalition between UD and SLD?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that a cooperation is of course possible and, I would say, necessary, just like a cooperation of practically all major political groups in Parliament is necessary, if we want, for example, to settle an issue as fundamental as the constitution. Without the cooperation, it would simply not be possible. In any event, certain forms of discussion and reconciliation of views took part in the previous Parliament, and they were not only about the Union and SLD, but also KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] had a similar type of arrangement with SLD.

[Skowronski] But is a UD-SLD coalition possible?

[Onyszkiewicz] A politician never says no. But I think that everything should be done to be able to create a governing coalition without the participation by that force.

[Skowronski] You have mentioned a new Constitution. In line with this new Constitution, in line with the bill proposed by UD, should the minister of national defense be appointed by the president or rather by the Parliament?

[Onyszkiewicz] I believe that the present regulations—that is, the ones according to which the defense minister is responsible before the Parliament and is elected, as it were, by the prime minister and the Parliament, after consultations with the president—are sufficient. It is extremely important that we remember that even in a presidential system, such as the American system, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, who is now General Shalikashvili, is subordinated to the defense minister, and is only indirectly subordinated to the president.

[Skowronski] Do you personally know the chief of staff of the U.S. Army?

[Onyszkiewicz] Yes, I have had the opportunity to meet him on several occasions.

[Skowronski] What did you talk about? Is it not a secret?

[Onyszkiewicz] No, it is not a secret. I first met him in Warsaw in 1990. At that time it was a rather breakthrough meeting, because it was the first visit of high U.S. officers to Poland. We must bear in mind that it was 1990, the Warsaw Pact was still in place. We were visited by General Shalikashvili, General McCarthy, who was at that time the deputy commander-in-chief of the U.S. forces in Europe. We discussed the structure of European security, the Warsaw Pact, and the need to dissolve it.

Later on I met with him once again, at NATO Headquarters. I was accompanying Prime Minister Suchocka; I visited him near Brussels, in Mans.

[Skowronski] What does your cooperation with President Walesa look like? Has there never been a fight, a controversy? Are you in agreement?

[Onyszkiewicz] There have not been any fights. There have sometimes been differences of opinion, but we later solved them through discussion.

[Skowronski] Has the concept of an eastern NATO been abandoned? Is it now a thing of the past?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that the concept of an eastern NATO as a need to discuss the security issues of the Eastern and Central European states, in this sense, is still topical. No one really insisted that this concept be turned into some kind of establishment; that is, that some kind of a military bloc, or a political structure be established. Really, this is out of the question.

[Skowronski] I have asked about your cooperation with the president. Now, did the president not want for you to run on the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms] ticket? Were you not pressed to do so?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not know whether or not he wanted me to do so. If he did, he did not tell me about it. I am linked with UD, even though I am not its member. I ran on its ticket in the previous elections, and I am still associated with this political party.

[Skowronski] Does UD have any ideas about reforming the Army?

[Onyszkiewicz] UD certainly has some ideas about reforming the Army; as a matter of fact, the reform is already under way. However, first of all it would like the Army to be controlled by civilians, which does not mean that civilians should meddle with the issues of commanding, or operational planning....

[Skowronski, interrupting] You are not meddling with the issues of commanding, operational planning....

[Onyszkiewicz, interrupting] I am certainly not meddling with the issues of commanding and operational planning. However, I am simply responsible for all the matters in the Defense Ministry, including the Army and its condition.

[Skowronski] UD also proposes that the military service be shorter.

[Onyszkiewicz] Yes, it is true. We are thinking about shortening the military service. However, this plan cannot be implemented immediately. It can be implemented provided that some other conditions are met. For example, if the Army has more persons who will work there, almost professionally, and who will fill all those posts which require a lot of training.

[Skowronski] When would it be possible to shorten the military service?

[Onyszkiewicz] This depends on how rapidly we will be able to reform the Armed Forces, and how much money we will be able to allocate for the activities I have talked about. I believe that it is a matter of several years.

[Skowronski] A matter of several years. Do we, does Poland want to create a professional Army?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that the discussion on whether or not the Polish Army should be professional is still to come. Personally, I am rather skeptical about this entire concept, not only because a professional Army costs a lot more, and consequently, Poland cannot afford it, but also there is another reason: It is not a coincidence that in Europe only Great Britain has a professional Army, while rich states, such as Sweden or Switzerland, do not have such Armies. And it is not because they could not afford them. Those countries believe that having an Army which consists first of all of conscripts serves the rule of defending the state, understood as the duty of all citizens. Second, it ensures that the Army is a citizens' institution and is less likely to become a group of professionals hired to defend the country.

[Skowronski] Do you think you will manage to protect the non-political character of the Army in this election campaign?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that so far the situation has been developing fairly well. There have been some signals, and I think that it is a good thing, because they made the Army circles more sensitive to what the non-political character of the Army really means. I believe that, in comparison with the previous elections, when many people in uniforms were also running, the situation looks pretty good.

[Skowronski] However, does the fact that the minister of national defense is running in the elections not go against this non-political character of the Army? Are soldiers not going to vote for you?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not know whether soldiers are going to vote for me. I am certainly not waging any election campaign in military units. However, the minister is not a military man. He is a politician; because of it, he is entitled to take part in the election campaign and in the entire political life; it is only natural.

[Skowronski] You will be on leave during the election campaign?

[Onyszkiewicz] Yes, during the last [word indistinct] of the election campaign I will be on leave. Now, from time to time I manage to sneak an hour or two, or a weekend, in order to try to take part in the election campaign in my region.

[Skowronski] How is the Army going to cope with its problems without its minister?

[Onyszkiewicz] Well, after all I can always be reached by telephone. I never part with a small device that can be used to summon me. Also, it does happen that I leave the country, that I go on holiday; at such times others substitute for me.

[Skowronski] Is there a party in Poland that you would say is dangerous to our reasons of State, to Poland?

[Onyszkiewicz] I am afraid that there are a couple of such parties. I would not like to list them specifically; however, in the case of some of them, it is simply impossible not to do so. I think that parties that are conducting destructive activities, such as Self-Defense or the X Party, must be watched very closely.

[Skowronski] Is this election campaign going to be sharp and ruthless?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that it has not been bad at all so far. I fear that the last two weeks may raise the temperature tremendously. However, I do hope that we will not see what we saw taking place in the previous campaign.

[Skowronski] Thank you very much for the interview.

[Onyszkiewicz] Thank you.

Goryszewski on Arms Industry Strike

*LD2808193193 Warsaw PAP in English 1738 GMT
28 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 28—Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski said that the upholding by the Solidarity national section of arms industry enterprises of its decision to stage a 4-hour warning strike on August 26 "may be only treated as a political act and a part of the electoral game."

"The idea of the financial restructuring of the arms industry enterprises, prepared by a government team, has been rejected by the Solidarity arms industry section without any serious justification, while forwarded opinions reflect reluctance to take part in the difficult process of debt rescheduling and the restructuring of enterprises grouped in this sector," Goryszewski said in a statement released by his office on Saturday.

Miners End Demonstration; Talks To Be Held

LD2708171593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] A demonstration of miners outside the Council of Ministers Office in Warsaw has ended. Around 800 miners from many Silesian collieries took part in the demonstration organized by the Solidarity mining and power industry section secretariat. They demanded an immediate start of negotiations covering, among others, a new draft charter of miners guarantees.

A delegation of miners was received by Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski, who promised to come to Silesia on Wednesday [1 September]. Talks will be held

in one of the collieries, focusing on most important issues pervading the profession. The miners are also going to discuss coal prices.

BBWR Suggests Investment Bond To Aid Agriculture

*LD2708165793 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT
27 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The Non-Party Reform Bloc (BBWR) suggests that a 300-million-zloty (about 15,220 U.S. dollars) investment inscribed bond should be the basis for reforms in agriculture. Farmers could use it to purchase land owned by the state treasury and shares in food processing plants undergoing privatization, BBWR member Janusz Bylinski told journalists here on Friday.

Bylinski said new institutions supporting the countryside and farmers would be set up: An agricultural credit agency that would replace the fund for restructuring and repaying debts of farmers and a foundation for the development of rural infrastructure. The latter would have credits from the World Bank to develop waterworks, sewages, water treatment plants and telephone network in the countryside.

Bylinski, a member of the Peasant Agreement, admitted the BBWR agricultural programme did not differ much from the programme of his party. "The difference consists in including the investment bond into the BBWR programme to give farmers an opportunity to directly take part in the privatization of agriculture," he added.

Labor Union Sees Peasant Party as Closest Ally

*LD2908192093 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT
29 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—The Union of Labour (UP) feels itself closest to the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), both in terms of election programmes, and as a possible political partner, Ryszard Bugaj, UP leader, told a pre-election extraordinary congress of the party in Warsaw.

Bugaj categorically rejected the possibility of a pact, "either in government or in opposition," with the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) or the Christian National Union (ZCHN). Any eventual alliance with the Democratic Union (UD) would depend on clear declaration from the UD leadership on changes to the UD economic programme, on alliance with the ZCHN, and on the place of the Roman Catholic Church in Polish society, particularly in relation to the concordat with the Vatican.

On the controversial question of an agreement with the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Bugaj accepted that the UP and SLD programmes were close, and added that there was still time for the SLD to make some sort of declaration on its communist roots. However, he expressed his doubts as to whether the SLD could be effective in realising its election programme.

Another UP leader, Aleksander Malachowski, launched a strong criticism of Poland's rightist parties, claiming that the past four years have shown that the right was not competent to implement reform programmes.

Malachowski described as "shameful" the statement of conservative leader Aleksander Hall that "the enemy is on the left." He described Hall's outlook as "Bolshevik," in its desire to hunt out enemies. "I have always feared Bolshevism, whether it be red or white in colour."

The delegates at the congress criticised the neo-liberal economic policies of recent governments for their failure to cope with the problems of the post-socialist economy. We cannot accept that poverty must exist in order that people should live more prosperously, the UP Honorary President Karol Modzelewski told the conference. Modzelewski also said that he feared that further privatisation would lead to the further destruction of the Polish economy.

The delegates debated the party's programme and its election manifesto, which declare that, faced with conservative-liberal programmes of successive right-wing governments, "there is a sensible alternative, open to the ideas of contemporary social democracy." The party also calls for the dissolution of the Privatisation Ministry, and an end to the excess-wages tax and dividend requirements against state-owned enterprises, which the party describes as discrimination against the state sector.

The programme and the manifesto were subjected to several dozen amendments.

The Union of Labour is a left-of-centre party which emerged in June 1992 out of various post-Solidarity groupings, joined by several reformist elements from the former Polish United Workers Party (Poland's former Communist Party). In the previous parliament, it had 6 Sejm (Lower House) deputies, and has an estimated membership of 10,000. It has announced its intention to join the socialist international.

Foreign Policy as Seen by Political Parties

*LD2808212693 Warsaw TVP Television First Program
Network in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Aug 93*

[Video report by correspondent Filip Lobodzinski, relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[Text] The majority of the Election Committees are in favor of a foreign policy above party divides. The election programs of Solidarity and the Peasant Alliance [PL] say nothing about Polish foreign policy. Also, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] so far has no conception in this field; it merely believes that detailed issues will belong to the future government.

[Filip Lobodzinski, identified by caption] The largest amount of controversy arises from regional cooperation. The Central European Initiative is being treated with enthusiasm by the Liberals [KLD - Liberal Democratic

Congress], the Democratic Union [UD], the Labor Union [UP] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. It is also supported by the Homeland, built around the ZChN [Christian National Union] and the Conservatives.

Jan Olszewski's Coalition for the Republic [KdR], the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] and the PC [Center Alliance] are non-committal on this, but they align themselves with the former groups in favor of the Visegrad Group [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland].

These arrangements are opposed by the Union for Real Politics [UPR] and the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] who regard them as still-born creatures.

The Baltic Council finds an especially enthusiastic supporter in the Self-Defense [farmers' union], although it is also supported by other parties.

The idea of including Poland in NATO, and integration with Europe is supported by all groups apart from Self-Defense, for which unity of the continent means a resurrection of the Brezhnev doctrine. Homeland, the KPN, SLD, and PSL are oversensitive here with regard to our independence. The UPR is in favor of Europe, but not in the EEC edition which it regards as a socialist structure. The UPR, KPN, Self-Defense, and Homeland are also against Euroregions which are promoted by the Liberals, the Democratic Union, and the Labor Union. The position of the Coalition for the Republic, the PC, and the PSL in this respect is unclear.

The geopolitical position is of no relevance whatsoever, say Labor Union politicians who are argue for maintaining balance between the East and West, and the

South and North. According to them, our relations with Germany are decidedly too cool. The KPN, SLD, PC, Homeland, and KdR have a reserved attitude toward Germany. The last committee is also reticent toward excessively close relations with Russia.

On the other hand, the Union for Real Politics, which is very biased against Germany, is backing Russia. According to this party, Germany, under national socialists in the near future, is going to enter alliances with Ukraine and Lithuania, against which we have to put up an alliance with France and Russia.

According to the Democratic Union, our chance lies along the Paris-Berlin-Warsaw axis. The Center Alliance is seeking partners in France, Italy, and Great Britain. The KPN believes that we could only integrate with Europe as a giant inter-seaboard area which would include countries from the Balkans to the Baltic region, grouped around a Polish-Ukrainian alliance.

The Party X leader has revealed three points of its program to us: To stem the flow of foreigners to Poland and to seek allies everywhere; also foreign policy has to be good, that is beneficial. But he made the proviso that his party would get down to details only once it has taken power.

So there are a great many conceptions. It is probably not going to be easy reconciling them, but this will probably have to be done, because the majority of the Election Committees believe that foreign policy cannot depend on the party currently in power. Conversely, it should follow from an above-party accord on the Polish *raison d'etat*.

Prime Minister Announces Cabinet Reshuffle

AU2808150393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0903 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Introductory statement by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu at a news conference held at the Bucharest Victoria Palace on 28 August—live]

[Text] The extraordinary meeting of the government held today also examined a series of very important draft regulations, ordinances, and laws. Certainly, the first point on the agenda was the government reshuffle and a number of modifications to the second echelon of the government. I am referring to secretaries of state and undersecretaries of state in the executive administration.

I would like to ask you to permit me to begin with this first point. We have had to effect a reshuffle in the government as a result of certain analyses, not current ones, but some that were carried out about three or four weeks ago—when we discussed and examined the possibility of improving government operations on the basis of the inspection that was carried out in each department and sector, as well as on the basis of the fact that a number of ministers selected other functions.

At the same time, in a series of divisions and ministries, we aimed at improving operations and accelerating the entire process of reform and of transition to the market economy, in order to meet the requirements established in the government's strategic program.

I would also like to tell you that these changes have nothing to do with the extraordinary session or with the upcoming ordinary session of the parliament. Thus, these changes do not influence this parliament session, the extraordinary session already has a topic, as you know. The changes are connected with a new stage of 1993, when we will put a special emphasis on restructuring and privatization measures, a process we started about one or two months ago and is in great need of being finalized.

First of all I would like to tell you that in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the changes that have taken place, namely the replacement of certain ministers, have been approved by the president of Romania President through Decree No. 151 of 28 August 1993.

Thus the first important change is the removal of Misu Negritoiu, minister of state and president of the Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform Council, from that position. As you learned from yesterday's news report, Misu Negritoiu requested to be transferred to the position of state councillor in the Presidency, and this appointment has been effected. Mircea Cosea was proposed to replace Misu Negritoiu.

A little biographic data about Mr. Mircea Cosea—I am sure that many of you know him: He was born on 9 June 1942 in Ploiesti, Prahova County. He graduated from the General Economics faculty in 1965. He held a couple of teaching positions; he has been lecturer's assistance,

lecturer, university reader, and is currently a university professor at the Academy of Economic Studies. He has a PhD in economics. He has specialized in various fields, I will mention just one in Italy; and he worked at the Economic Commission of the United Nations for Europe. Currently he is secretary of state and president of the National Estimation Commission. He has held this position since 1990.

I would like to mention that contrary to certain remarks in various publications, relations with Misu Negritoiu were very good. I can tell you only that there were no fundamental differences of opinion between the prime minister and Misu Negritoiu, as was stated in the press. On the contrary, we enjoyed fruitful cooperation. He made a significant contribution to this state of affairs. I would like to say that [words indistinct] of the government in the field of reform and transition is a process that requires discussion, alternatives, and profound analysis.

I would like to say that Mircea Cosea is very experienced in this field. He has worked together with us the last three and a half years to draft both the first and second strategic government plans, begun by the present government. He also participated in a series of complex procedures such as the drafting of certain material and documentation on relations with international institutions, with the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. He is one of our most valuable experts, with a rich background, and we believe that the department he is to coordinate: The Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform Council, including a number of institutions that are directly subordinated to this council, will only gain and flourish as far as the acceleration of the entire economic reform process is concerned.

A second replacement is that of Constantin Teculescu from the position of minister of commerce. Teculescu submitted a request, saying that he wishes to stay in his capacity of deputy in the Romanian Parliament in order to make a significant contribution within the parliament. At the same time, we wish to achieve our objectives in the Ministry of Commerce, in particular the finalization and completion of another stage of privatization in the area of commerce. Certainly we are not speaking here of domestic commerce only. This ministry also has very complex tasks in our foreign trade strategy. Our primary goals are to find solutions and draft measures to stabilize Romania's trade balance in the shortest time possible; I would say this is a very important factor toward ensuring stability in our country and easing pressure from the exchange rate, but it is also important to support the economic process.

Constantin Teculescu was replaced by Cristian Ionescu. Some biographic data: He was born on 27 April, 1943, in Bucharest. He graduated from the College of Commerce and was head of his graduate class in the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest. From 1978 to 1980 he attended and graduated from post-graduate courses in

international relations and international economic cooperation. He held various positions in Foreign Trade, Fructexport, and Romagricol. He was general director of the Administration of the Free Port of Sulina, commercial representative at the Economic Section of the Romanian Embassy in Paris and later in Damascus, Syria. He is a parliamentary deputy for the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] and since 1993 has been secretary of state and head of the Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Commerce. He specializes in the commerce field. Teculescu has been a good man. One could work well with him, but his basic specialization is in the banking area, as you probably know. Thus we need and felt the need for a prominent economist, with vast experience in commerce, who can better assist such operations.

A third change regards Mihai Golu, minister of culture; he is being replaced by Petre Salcudeanu. Mr. Salcudeanu was born on 8 September 1930 in the area of Gligoresti, Cluj County. He graduated from the College of Literature with excellent results. He worked for a long time in the field of cinematography, as deputy chief editor, chief editor, director, and director general of Bucharest Film Studios. Since 1992 he has been the president of the National Cinematography Center and held the position of secretary of state. He is a PDSR deputy. He is an outstanding person and I am sure that you are familiar with him. He is the author of over 28 novels and 24 screenplays. He is a dynamic person and a good organizer, and we believe that in the field of culture, where we face a series of setbacks as far as implementation of government strategy is concerned, we have established a team that will permit the bolstering of this sector.

I would like to say that Mr. Golu is a person with outstanding moral qualities and a broad cultural education. Certainly his work in the Ministry of Culture has not been easy, especially in his capacity as minister. However, we felt the need for someone who would be more demanding and, at the same time, have much stronger organizational expertise. We believe that the appointment of Petru Salcudeanu will mean a positive move in the cultural field.

As far as the Ministry of Youth and Sports is concerned, Gheorghe Angelescu's position has been assumed by Alexandru Mironov. Gheorghe Angelescu, at 31, was practically the youngest minister we had. He was an outstanding person and he worked hard. Certainly, the lack of experience created certain difficulties. However, I believe he is a man with great prospects. He has dealt primarily with youth issues and has been appointed as head of the Department of Youth in the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

Some biographic data on Alexandru Mironov: He was born on 27 January 1942 in Soroca, Bessarabia. He graduated from the College of Mathematics of the University of Bucharest. He worked as a teacher of mathematics in Craiova for a long time, then was a teacher in

Morocco. Between 1978 and 1992 he worked with the magazine STIINTA SI TECHNICA [science and technology]. He was also an editor of Romanian television science programs. As you probably know, he has personally published four books, and 12 in cooperation with others, especially in the field of science and technology for young people. He is the president of the Romanian Fencing Federation, former top sportsman, member of the Romanian Fencing Team, and member of the Romanian Olympic Committee. He is a dynamic personality, a good organizer, and I believe that in the new, completely changed system in the Ministry of Youth and Sports, we will succeed in achieving substantial progress in this very important sector.

These are therefore four changes that have been made in the government. I am sure that you will probably ask questions about the transportation minister; I can tell you that the Ministry of Transportation will be the subject of a separate examination after the conclusion of the investigation and after we discover the entire truth about the accusations regarding our fleet. As you know, two commissions have been created: A government commission which is to investigate the fleet from 1990 until now, not only in the Petromin case but also the other three commercial companies. The second commission is the parliamentary commission; it is currently carrying out a complete investigation of the situation. I am convinced that after the commissions' reports are delivered, we will find out the exact truth about the accusations. However, one should not forget that the Ministry of Transportation is one of the most challenging ministries, an area in which we have faced the greatest problems connected with a number of claims and negotiations on salary issues, with very deep implications for the national economy and beyond.

I would also like to inform you that we have planned complex investigations of each separate ministry: the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Education, and the others. Following our investigation, we will draw appropriate conclusions regarding the activities of the ministries and secretaries of state and, on the basis of the constitutional provisions, will probably continue to witness certain changes insofar as government personnel is concerned.

I would like to mention, and with this I shall conclude the chapter on ministers, that the position of minister is a position that is not granted for life, just as with the position of prime minister. It is only an office and those who occupy it are professionals, experts; and certainly as long as they can come up with exceptional results and things are working fine in the respective areas, it is natural that no changes should occur. However, there are situations when, upon very serious examination, such changes in the composition of the government are required.

As far as the second echelons are concerned—I am referring to state secretaries in ministries and a number of other departments—I am going to tell you very briefly

about the new replacements there also. I would like to mention that all these changes have been the result of an investigation of the manner in which these departments have been run, and the way in which they have integrated into the entire reform program for restructuring and privatization.

The Ministry of Industry: Radu Constantin Gelu, secretary of state and head of the Metallurgical Industry Department was released from his post. Radu Constantin Gelu was replaced by Petru Ianc. The latter was born on 24 March 1946 in Margau, Cluj County. He graduated from the College of Metallurgy at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute. He has a PhD in metallurgy. For a while he worked as an engineer; then he was scientific researcher and went worked his way up the ladder. He is currently director of a metallurgy department, in fact, he is director of the Metallurgical Research Institute. He has published a number of works: over 50 studies, articles, and professional theses. What convinced us to appoint him, apart from his professional qualifications, is his good organizational know-how and the fact that he understand the program and concept of the reform strategy, of restructuring, and privatization.

Also in the Ministry of Industry, Marinescu Nicolae Mihai, secretary of state, head of the Electrotechnics, Electronics, and Precision Mechanics Department, was released. This is one of the departments that did not satisfactorily meet the requirements of the current stage of transition in Romania. He has been replaced by Virgil Popa.

Mr. Popa was born on 11 May 1950 in Buciumeni, Dimbovita County. He graduated from the College of Automation at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute. He also graduated from the College of Commerce at the Academy of Economic Studies. Since 1974 he has been working at the Bucharest Automatica Enterprise, where he is currently director of the Bucharest Automatica Company. He has good professional training, has come up with a number of inventions, and is a man with a broad organizational skills. We believe that it is a very good thing that we appointed him to this position.

Also in the Ministry of Industry, Ion Sucala, secretary of state, head of the Department of Textile Industry and Leather Goods, was released. This is also one of the sectors that did not meet the requirements of the reform process. Mr. Sucala was replaced by Virgiliu Adrian Savin.

Mr. Savin was born on 17 May 1957, in Husi, Vaslui County. He graduated from the College of Technology and Textile Chemistry at the Iasi Polytechnic Institute. He also graduated from a post-graduate course specialized in spinning and weaving. He has worked as an engineer since, then became head of a department at the Jilava Romanian Cotton Processing Plant. He is currently director of the Jilava Cotton Processing Company. He also is a man with outstanding qualities. After our interview with him, we concluded that he has good

organizational skills and understands perfectly the program and strategy of this economic field.

At the Ministry of Transport, Adrian Matache, secretary of state and head of the Naval Transport Department, was released from his position for health reasons; Petru Serban Mihailescu was appointed in his place. Mr. Petru Serban Mihailescu was born in Bucharest on 8 March 1944. He graduated from the Machine Building Technology College at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute. He worked as engineer-researcher at the Institute for Machine Tools Research and Design; director for the Steaua Rosie [Red Star] enterprise in Bucharest; and is currently director in charge of relations at the Romanian Shipping Registry, part of the Ministry of Transport. He has published several specialized books in his field and is a very good organizer. After all, this is one of the most difficult sectors, particularly at this time. He is an exacting man. We wanted to have a man who was not involved in any way in the affairs of our three naval shipping companies, we looked for an impartial man, who will have to work very intensively in the near future to fully sort out the situation in the Romanian fleet.

Also upon his own resignation request, Ion Tomescu, secretary of state and head of the Civil Aircraft Department, was released from his position; his place is being assumed by Mr. Petru Tenie, born in Podul Turcului, Bacau, on 22 January 1944. He graduated from the Higher Aircraft Officers School in 1965 and from the Mechanics College of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute in 1971. He is a mechanical engineer and one of Romania's best pilots. He worked in the Ministry of National Defense until 1990. He was then deputy to the head of the Civil Aviation Department, head of the Service, Inspection, and Personnel Department, and chief inspector of the State Inspectorate of Civil Navigation. He has rich experience in this field. Thanks to his military background, he is a disciplined man, and we very much need discipline and organization in this field.

At the Ministry of Commerce, Cristian Ionescu's release from his post as head of the Foreign Trade Department—following his appointment as minister of commerce, as mentioned before—led to the appointment of Mihai Berinde to this position. Mr. Berinde was born in Cisei Commune, Bihor County, on 30 August 1950. He graduated from the College of Commerce at Bucharest's Economic Sciences Academy in 1973 as head of his graduating class. He worked at the General Customs Directorate and then at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, where he dealt with such matters as Romania's relations with the European Community and the European Free Trade Association. He worked as economic secretary at Romania's trade mission in Paris and Brussels. He was recalled to the Ministry of Foreign Trade headquarters and currently works as director at the International Institutions Directorate. He has plenty of experience in this sphere, as he has worked in various sectors and is well aware of the problems there. He also is a good organizer.

As far as the Ministry of Commerce is concerned, I would like to add that we have another vacancy there, for the position of secretary of state of interior trade. We are still weighing various alternatives for a capable man to coordinate this department.

At the Ministry of Tourism, Oreste Ungureanu, secretary of state and head of the Strategy and Privatization Department, was released from his position due to inadequate work; one of the main targets of his department was to very quickly advance the privatization of tourism. Nicolae Neacsu was appointed in his place. Mr. Neacsu was born in Gaiseni Commune, Giurgiu, on 17 May 1946. He graduated from the College of Commerce at the Bucharest Economic Studies Academy. He also completed post-graduate marketing studies in Bucharest and went to Italy to specialize in the field of tourism management. He worked as economist at [word indistinct], was scientific researcher at the Institute for the Economy of Commerce and Tourism, and director of various trade offices. Currently he works as general director in the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism. He has a PhD and has published a number of specialized studies. He is a young and vigorous man, with good organizational skills. Of course, his main goal should be the privatization process.

At the Ministry of Environment, Forestry, & Water Resources, Ion Secereanu, secretary of state and head of the Forests Department, was released from his position. Marin Ianculescu, born in 1943, is a graduate of the Silviculture College at Brasov University, was appointed in his place. He has a PhD in silvicultural sciences and has worked as researcher and director at the Silvicultural Research and Development Institute. He is currently the director of this institute. He has published a lot of scientific material in his field and is a competent and valuable man as well as a good manager.

At the Ministry of Health, Traian Ionescu, secretary of state and head of the Health Programs Department, was released from his position. His place was taken by Dan Poenaru, born in Aninoasa, Gorj, on 7 June 1948. He graduated from the General Medical College in Timisoara. He is chief surgeon and head of the Timisoara Orthopedic Polyclinic. In the educational sphere, he is head of studies at the Timisoara Medicine and Pharmacy University. As of 1992, he has been head of the Timis County Health Directorate. He is author of several books, monographs, university courses, and scientific papers. He is a young man and we believe that he has great prospects in this field.

At the Ministry of Culture, Serafim Duicu, secretary of state and head of the Cultural Strategy, Management, and Resources Department, was released from his post; Mihai Ungheanu was appointed in his place. Born in Siobozia, Ialomita County, on 17 Mar 1939, Mr. Ungheanu graduated from the Romanian Language and Literature College at Bucharest University. He worked as editor at AMFITEATRU and CONTEMPORANUL magazines. He has a PhD in literature and is well known

to the public at large, as he has published a great many books on literary history and theatrical criticism. He is a good cultural manager and an exacting man. We hope that he will make a good team, together with Mr. Salcudeanu. Of course, I asked him about it, and I can assure you that he does not belong to any party.

At the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Cristian Gatu, secretary of state and head of the Sports Department was released from his position. Nicolae Marasescu, born in Bucharest on 12 November 1937, was appointed in his place. Mr. Marasescu graduated from the Physical Education and Sports Institute in 1967. He was physical education teacher and trainer emeritus. He has worked as trainer and at one point was federal athletics trainer. He has been secretary general of the Athletics Federation since 1990. He has published reviews in this field and is a good and particularly conscientious sports manager. We hope he will introduce some discipline in the realm of sports.

Also at this ministry, Mariana ("Calupa), secretary of state and head of the Youth Department, was released from her post. Gheorghe Angelescu, former minister of youth and sports, was appointed in her place. You all know him, his biography is known to everyone; I will not dwell on that now.

At the Department of Public Information, the department head, Secretary of State Mr. Octavian Partenie, was dismissed. Dumitru Popa, born in Padure Commune, Mures, on 19 December 1940, took his place. He graduated from Bucharest's Law College in 1967. He has worked as a journalist for quite some time, before joining the staff of the College of Journalism. He is currently employed with the College of Journalism at Bucharest University. He has a PhD, and has published seven volumes of poetry and many articles, he is also a good press manager.

Emilian Ijdelea, secretary of state and president of the Romanian Development Agency, was dismissed. Nicolae Jaldea, born in Mihaesti-Campul Lung, Arges, on 3 September 1935, took his place. He graduated from the Foreign Trade College of Bucharest's Economic Studies Academy. He has worked as an economist, department head, and manager at CHIMIMPORT [Chemical-Import Company] in Bucharest; he was economic adviser to our economic agency in Belgrade, deputy director at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, director at ICEPERA [expansion unknown], and deputy director at the Ministry of Foreign Trade between 1987-90. Since 1990, he has been economic counselor, with the rank of minister, in Vienna. He has vast managerial experience in this sphere and is familiar with the problems of encouraging foreign investors, something he has been pursuing in his most recent work in Vienna.

Emil Bojin from the Consumer Protection Office, where he has worked as general director and undersecretary of state, was released from his position. Gheorghe Ciplica,

currently governmental undersecretary of state in charge of relations with the trade unions, replaces him.

There are still some vacant positions for which various candidates are being considered, including secretaries of state, but a final decision has not yet been taken. We want to make up our minds only after we are convinced that the people appointed to these posts can make a much greater contribution than those they are to replace.

The personal data of the people I have just introduced to you has already been released; if this is not the case, it will be handed out to you at the end of this news conference.

This is therefore the first stage of a reorganization, of a government reshuffle and changes in the second and third echelons. I would like to add that, at today's meeting, the government also discussed and approved other measures.

First of all, I would like to announce an end to the staff cutbacks in the ministries. On the basis of goals laid down some time ago, we proceeded to reducing the ministerial staff by 10 to 20 percent. To give you an idea of the meaning of this personnel measure, let me say that it amounted to a reduction of 1,310 ministry administrative posts, or 13.6 percent; as far as the specialized units subordinated to the government, we reduced 357 posts, or 15 percent; and we cut 128 posts in the machinery of government, or 23.2 percent. Therefore, overall cuts amounted to 1,795 posts, or 14.5 percent. For the sake of comparison—since this question has been raised quite often—the government now has 424 positions after this reduction, compared to the first government's 460 posts, and the second government's 534 posts. Of course, we will proceed to a much stricter selection of personnel, so as to stimulate government activity.

I would also like to say that today's government session adopted some particularly important measures; they will be released in a press communique. I attach particular importance to the government's adoption of the draft law on changing and completing the Penal Code and the Penal Procedure Code. Why is this so very important? Because, with these changes, we have stiffened punishments considerably, so that they conform with current transition requirements. We stiffened not only penal punishment, but also penal fines, as an absolutely necessary and essential prerequisite to halt the wave of crime in the country. The minister of justice will later give details of this draft bill in the press and on television, since this bill provides for some key changes.

Another most important decision is the adoption—with a recommendation for urgent implementation—of the draft law on combating tax evasion, which means that we are adjusting ourselves to modern requirements in traditional market economies. In other words, we are introducing penal punishments for violations related to

tax evasion; something that is vital to enhancing financial and monetary discipline, in view of the very high level of tax evasion we are experiencing.

Other changes were adopted regarding measures for the implementation of the value-added tax [VAT], which has caused us quite a lot of trouble in the past month. An urgent draft was thus worked out, in conformity with constitutional provisions—a draft law that was urgently required from the time of introduction of these VAT charges. Another important decision was the law regarding compensations for damages to forests, forestry products and vegetation, public grounds, and so forth. It provides for particularly severe penalties, in an effort to protect the environment and the forests in general.

Another important measure—I would say of a priority nature—is the decision on a draft bill to be urgently submitted to the parliament regarding the granting of a 20 billion lei credit to the Republic of Moldova over a period of eight years, with an interest-free grace period and another two-year grace period [as heard]. This credit will be used to cover any deliveries of fuel, gasoline, diesel oil, and crude oil. We took into consideration Moldova's current very acute shortages, particularly in the sphere of fuel supplies to the population. I would like to add that we are going to begin with deliveries to Moldova without waiting for the draft bill to be passed. We will do this on the basis of a draft decision which stipulates that we take over from the current credit of 7 billion lei approved in the budget, meaning that we will use this technical credit by virtue of government decision, on the basis of which we are going to begin oil deliveries to the Republic of Moldova.

Concurrently with this, there are broad opportunities for joint efforts to support Moldova at this difficult time, by promoting commodity exchanges and helping the economic entities in Moldova to find markets for some of their exports and to solve some of the great difficulties with which the Republic of Moldova is currently confronted.

I would also like to mention—since I do not want to prolong this news conference unnecessarily—the draft bill on the declaration of wealth by the public servants of the executive branch. This bill was approved and will be submitted very shortly. It covers all public servants, from the prime minister down to the service-cadre chief in ministries, who will henceforth have to declare their wealth on the basis of a plan stipulated by this draft bill.

To conclude all this, since I see you are getting restless—you are probably eager to ask me questions—I would like to add a few things in the next three to four minutes. The first problem right now is to complete the ongoing enquiries regarding the situation of our fleet. The enquiry commission we have set up for this purpose is a complex governmental commission consisting of people from the Ministry of Finance, the prime minister's control group, and the Ministry of Interior to examine, solve, and present to the mass media the details of the

current situation of the three companies involved and of the fleet in general, as well as the immediate prospects.

I would like to add that next Monday we will probably complete a comprehensive report on the government's activity over the past seven months, since its inauguration—actually more like eight months—and the detailed program for the second half of the year and the whole of 1994. This comprehensive report will be made public and will be submitted both to the political parties and to the parliament for their information.

At the same time, two comprehensive reports are in the final stages of completion—there are only a few final touches to add here and there—on the relationship with the IMF and with the World Bank. On the basis of these complex materials, which comprise an in-depth analysis of the conditions prescribed for us, we will send a governmental delegation to the IMF and the World Bank on 5 and 6 September to discuss the matters on the spot, and to complete the negotiations with the two organizations.

Apropos of certain speculations made in the press, I would like to present a few figures, hoping that I will be understood correctly. In the industrial sectors, let it be understood, industrial production is registering a dynamism that is the exact opposite of the situation in the corresponding period of 1992. The decline in production was halted in April, which was the first month that industrial production matched the level of April 1992. Industrial production then kept growing, with the peak being reached in June, when we registered a 14 percent growth as compared to June last year.

To give you an overall picture of the situation in industry: Compared to minus 22 percent in January 1993 vis-a-vis January last year, we registered minus 16 percent at the end of the first half of 1993; we are now at only minus 4.7 percent, compared to the same period last year. Therefore, the production curve is going up. If we add to all this the fact that, on the basis of concrete data, we can predict a more than 13 percent increase in agricultural production compared to 1992, we will thus achieve the main goal established in our government program—apart from the other main goal, which is social protection—namely to fully halt the decline of material production in 1993 and create the foundation for economic recovery as of 1994.

A totally different problem is to prepare the autumn-winter program, which is particularly important for ensuring the necessary supplies, primarily fuel, for the economy and population. Even now, when we have very limited external financial resources, I would like to say that, thanks to our recovery—although it is not at the level we might have liked, but it is a recovery nevertheless—of industry and its dynamics, we managed to ensure that fuel oil stocks should be three times higher than at the end of October 1992. Consequently, one can say that we have already ensured fuel oil stocks, in

keeping with requirements, for the winter period. Likewise, we ensured diesel oil stocks for the agricultural campaign and other economic requirements.

Of course, we have done other such operations and various complex barter deals. We strongly developed trade relations—since this was Romania's only opportunity at this particular time—with the Arab world and the CIS republics, in order to ensure these requirements.

Likewise, wheat and rye production is at 5.3 million tonnes compared with the 33 million tonnes in 1992, something which makes us believe that we can completely stop the imports of wheat this year. This is important as they were blocking quite a few currency resources, which are already in a limited quantity.

I would like to add that a delicate and difficult problem is the need to stabilize the trade balance. At this time, we have accumulated a deficit of some \$640,000,000. Of course, this deficit is the result of a number of stockpiles accumulated in August particularly, due to the increase in the dollar's exchange rate. This led to the fact that a number of orders could not be honored; at this time, we have quite a few orders that were not fulfilled, especially in metallurgy, but also in other sectors such as machine building and chemistry, amounting to more than \$150,000,000. There has been an impasse there, but we will do something to release these stockpiles, since they were produced on the basis of foreign contracts and have assured sale markets. We believe that the situation will be improved with regard to these stockpiles.

I would like to say a few words about the living standard, as there have been many comments on this subject. Of course, we are not in a great position here, and I would not like some people to misinterpret my words and start believing that the economy's situation is wonderful, or something. We are still faced with major hardships caused by the economic crisis; with economic capacities working at only 60-65 percent of their potential right now. However, there are a few results and indications that give us hope of a reprieve from the crisis and hope of economic recovery.

The living standard is currently experiencing a slightly upward course. If we start with a real salary of 59.1 percent compared with October 1990, we have now reached some 65.4 percent. This, of course, was achieved by implementing a number of unpopular, most difficult, but absolutely necessary measures designed to bring us forward in the sphere of reform. You all know what I am talking about: the elimination of subsidies, the liberalization of allowances, and the introduction of VAT.

In many instances, the speculations made in this respect were quite unfounded. To give you an example, VAT has already begun to regulate prices, and some of them have even begun to decrease. In July—I beg your pardon, I mean August—prices went up by 13.2 percent. Normally, all the measures taken—let me assure you that these are statistical data, I see here that some colleagues have smiles on their faces—have almost concluded a

very important stage of the reform process. In normal conditions—we have to specify that, since there are also all kinds of unforeseeable phenomena, given the fact that all the component parts of the reform are variable in their functioning—beginning with September, excuse me, I mean August, the inflation rate should be contained within acceptable limits of something like 2 to 4 percent, compared with 10 to 12 percent and even 30 percent, that we reached last May following the elimination of subsidies.

This is an achievement of course. A lot depends on the way in which currency operations develop and how we manage to introduce currency discipline by adopted government decisions—so that not a mere 10 to 15 percent of the available currency will participate in the exchange rates, as is the case now, but 80 to 90 percent; and the exchange rate itself should achieve a certain amount of stability that will reassure domestic and foreign economic agents that efficient operation is possible.

I wanted to review all these matters in a few words. I apologize for the fact that I promised I would be brief, no longer than a quarter of an hour, and now I see that I have spoken for more than 35 minutes. Well, let me have your questions now.

Answers Journalists' Questions

AU2808190893

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0903 GMT on 28 August carries a one hour and 40-minute long live relay from Bucharest Victoria Palace, of a news conference given by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu. Before answering the journalists' questions Vacaroiu made a 47-minute long introductory statement announcing the cabinet decisions regarding certain personnel changes in the leadership of some ministries and departments. At 0950 GMT, after Vacaroiu's introductory statement, the 53-minute long question-and-answer session begins.

Asked to comment on Agriculture and Food Minister Ioan Oancea's alleged faulty decisions, which have cost Romania billions of lei, Vacaroiu answers that currently the harvesting campaign is in full swing and therefore it is not the right time to raise such issues, as "all of us have to concentrate on the successful conclusion of that campaign, after which we can take the necessary measures. Secondly, I do not know of any such allegations regarding Mr. Oancea, but anyway I think that they are exaggerated and do not believe that they are true." Vacaroiu then points out the fact that the losses mentioned by the reporter were registered before Oancea was even appointed as agriculture minister. However, Vacaroiu adds, "we want to know the truth, and persons who have caused losses to the country, regardless of their functions, will have to bear the consequences."

The second question refers to "whether the announced cabinet reshuffle, also approved of by a presidential

decree, should also be validated by the parliament, as Article 106 [of the Constitution] stipulates that merely temporary reshuffles, lasting not longer than 45 days, may be decided by you and the presidency." Vacaroiu's reply comes quickly: "I will answer you directly: No. Parliament's approval is not necessary." Vacaroiu then adds that this is not his personal opinion but rather that of "juridical experts interpreting our laws."

Asked to comment on the fact that a majority of the economic restructuring measures contained in his own cabinet's government program have not been implemented thus far owing to "irregularities" within a larger number of ministries than those subjected to the current reshuffle, Vacaroiu replies that the question proves the reporter obviously lacks correct information; he then enumerates some of the "540 government ordinances and draft bills, of which 400 refer to the reform, which have been issued lately, just before 28 August."

Emil Burloi, representing daily ORA, then asks: "President Iliescu's and your statements lately hint at the fact that in case of a cabinet reshuffle forces other than those of PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] might participate in the government. However, upon careful examination of the new cabinet members, the less concrete criteria which led to their selection, and the new offices to which the outgoing cabinet members are going, would you not say that this reshuffle is actually a cadre rotation?" Vacaroiu says that "this is not a rotation in any way, but rather a habitual reshuffle to which we all have to get accustomed to. As far as other political parties are concerned, I personally have neither ever approached that issue nor even considered it. To tell you frankly, I do not believe other parties would really want to participate in the government right now. I am quite frank. It is comfortable to be in the opposition so that one can criticize behind other people's backs. Today, with a few exceptions, that seems to be a more honorable thing to do."

Talking about the priority tasks of the new cabinet, Vacaroiu says that the essential goal of the cabinet is "to halt the decline of material production, which is a fundamental task on which everything else depends. Without that we cannot take other measures and we will have no investors either. I think that everyone knows by now that there can be no companies working in the red. Thus, we will have to very rapidly and deeply begin the quite painful process of restructuring our companies and preparing them to be privatized by making them work at a profit. We have a lot of problems related to the subcapitalization of the companies and the financial blockage, and we also have special social problems."

Asked whether he considers it right that the union leaders of the train engineers who recently went on strike are being fired and sued for damages by the national railroad company, Vacaroiu first mentions that "the situation is not all that simple, as the losses amount to about 75 billion lei or about \$35 million, that is, the situation is very grave, so I would like to know who is

supposed to pay for those losses?" Referring to the fact that the train engineers' union disregarded the decision of Romania's Supreme Court of Justice, which suspended their strike, Vacaroiu points out that "we have a state of law and we are all fighting for its consolidation" and "the fundamental issue is related to the future effects of such disobedience. Would this country still be governable or would we plunge into anarchy? Do we really want that? I do not think so."

Asked to expound on the cabinet's future plans should Romania be denied access to foreign financial sources, Vacaroiu says "the problem of foreign financial sources is creating some difficulty for us. However, if you refer to our relations with the IMF and the World Bank, I can assure you that our relations are good, we are engaged in a dialogue, we are having talks, and that is why we are sending a government delegation to them—so I do not think there are any problems. The only problems come from our differing views on what has to be accomplished during the current stage of transition. These are not fundamental problems." Vacaroiu then adds that "we are not sitting idle waiting for those resources; as I already mentioned, we have made great progress in ensuring the necessary resources for the winter period and we are currently also discussing about 10, 15, 20 various other loan offers. The conditions imposed by IMF and the World Bank are correct, in principle, but not all of them suit the actual circumstances of our current transition stage. We run the risk of entering a process of hyperinflation, as has happened in some countries; we would then be unable to keep anything under control."

Regarding certain contradictions between various statistical data on the recent performance of Romanian industry, Vacaroiu explains that the figures released by the National Board for Statistics "have been incorrectly interpreted. I will explain: Our production in July dropped by 7.9 percent as compared to June, but it has increased by 14.1 percent as compared to July last year. The causes are quite simple, and known in every country. There is a similar drop everywhere in the months of June and July, owing to specific factors, including the fact that people go on vacation."

After pointing out that the current difficulties in the Romanian machine and airplane building industry are caused primarily by the fact that the old economic and trade cooperation system among communist countries has collapsed, Vacaroiu answers a question related to alleged corruption cases, also involving ministers: "I cannot conceive how it is possible to summon ministers to testify in front of the commission investigating corruption cases, if there is not a single piece of incriminating evidence—not even a statement made by I know not who. There should be evidence. I had the opportunity, thousands of times, to accuse people myself in the same manner. Or did you think that we are unable to react? As long as I do not have proof supporting my statement, I will not make any." "Perhaps you have also

heard that I was supposed to go in front of the commission. To what purpose? Not that I would not like to go and meet my colleagues in the commission and talk some things over with them. But is there a grain of truth in those allegations?"

Being asked whether the government's economic strategy is able to ensure that Romania become economically compatible with the EEC, Vacaroiu replies that the current strategy is designed for the next three years, whereas bringing Romania up to EEC levels "requires a longer period of time, at least 10 years." Vacaroiu then emphasizes the need for long-term planning, but not "the kind of central planning we used to have before," but at company level, similar to Western corporations "that run businesses the volume of which is dozens of times larger than that of the entire Romanian industry."

Vacaroiu then denies that the cabinet reshuffle was effected under "pressure from abroad," after which he expresses his opinion on the disputed issue of bilingual signs proposed to be mounted in localities with a certain amount of ethnic minority inhabitants. He says that he has not "officially received those suggestions, but I hear that they proposed a proportion of 10 percent. I think that the proportion of the minority should be much higher, perhaps about 50 percent" and that in this matter "we would like to follow others. Do we wish to implement this before France does?"

Vacaroiu then explains that the reshuffle in the cultural branches was necessary because the newly appointed persons will be "more efficient managers" of the scarce funds allotted to culture.

At 1043 GMT, while a journalist is asking another question, an unidentified radio report announces that the live relay ends "as the news conference is due to conclude shortly anyway."

Iliescu Swears In New Cabinet Members

AU2908161593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] This morning in Predeal, President Ion Iliescu received the four new members of the government who were appointed yesterday.

Messrs. Mircea Cosea, state minister and chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform; Cristian Ionescu, minister of trade; Petre Salcudeanu, minister of culture; and Alexandru Mironov, minister of youth and sports, were sworn in by President Iliescu according to our country's constitution.

The news was reported to our correspondent by government sources.

Iliescu Greets Snegur on Independence Anniversary*AU2708204693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 27 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu sent a congratulatory telegram to Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova on the occasion of the second anniversary of Moldova's state independence, conveying to all the citizens of the republic best wishes of prosperity, peace and happiness.

In the present international circumstances, the telegram shows, we gladly welcome any step Moldova takes towards the consolidation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We also express Romania's solidarity and readiness for further and total support, especially in the difficult moments caused by the present economic hardships.

I express my conviction, the presidential telegram says, that the special relations between the two Romanian states, springing from their ethnic, language and cultural affinities, will become ever stronger once the projects jointly agreed upon as part of our common concept about economic and spiritual integration of Romania and Moldova, are put into practice.

Melescanu Receives Slovak Minister of Culture*AU2708201393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1424 GMT 27 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1993—Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu met on Friday morning with the minister of culture of the Slovak Republic, Dushan Slobodnik.

The two parties underscored the excellent relations between the two countries in political, economic and cultural fields, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The two ministers analysed some complex projects of Slovak-Romanian cooperation, including the opening of cultural centers in Bucharest and Bratislava.

The Slovak culture minister appreciated the situation of the Slovak minority in Romania as "particularly good," pointing to the special status enjoyed by the Slovak community.

The Slovak minister ended his two-day visit in Romania by signing the protocol of cultural cooperation between Romania and Slovakia for 1994-1995.

Interior Minister Issues Warning to Police Cadres*AU2708131293 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Aug 93 p 1*

[Petre Popa note: "A Warning from the Interior Minister"]

[Text] "If the number of crimes does not go down within a month and if steps are not taken to catch the authors of some serious antisocial deeds—particularly those aimed at the life and security of the citizens—and defend the assets of the people, I will be obliged to take drastic measures, including those of an organizational nature, against the command cadres in central and territorial departments." This severe warning was given by Interior Minister Lieutenant General George Ioan Danescu on Saturday 21 August after an examination of this year's crime statistics with the leaders of the police inspectorates from Bucharest and Brasov, Constanta, Dolj, Galati, Prahova, and Timis Counties.

Except for some positive results obtained by the economic police, including the uncovering of several flagrant corruption cases, the crime figures are, in general, alarming. It is not by accident that last Saturday's meeting was attended by leading police cadres from Bucharest and the aforementioned counties, since it is apparent that the most serious and the largest number of crimes have been committed in the large urban areas and that many criminals are not yet behind bars, some continuing their criminal activities in freedom.

Agriculture Minister Assesses Production Growth*AU2708203193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0938 GMT 27 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1993—I have the conviction that the Romanian agriculture is now on the right path, Ion Oancea, minister of food and agriculture told ADEVARUL ECONOMIC. The most important thing, he said, is that this year we have managed to stop the decline and bring agriculture to the relaunching point. The first objective in the 1993 programme, namely to sow the entire tillable surface, was achieved, which gives us hope that Romania will yield this year 17 million tonnes of cereals apt to cover consumer requirements and fodder concentrates for the large animal farms. It is a 6 to 7 million tonnes jump from 1992. We also count on a good sunflower harvest with availabilities for export. That vegetable growing fares well is also reflected in the abundance on the market, while the potato harvest promises, too, to be more than satisfactory. Sugar remains the deficient chapter. Internal production will meet only half of requirements.

In animal breeding the minister said the latest statistics show revigoration is a fact in this sector too. The cattle stock has an additional 350,000 units since the beginning of the year. Swine and sheep are nearing the normal per capita ratio for this country. The latter have increased by 2.2 million units while swine stock has increased by 1.4 million units. Most of the growth is accountable to the private sector, the minister said.

An important piece of news is that prices of all agricultural produce are to be liberalized, except for wheat which is considered strategic for the production of bread as staple food for Romanian consumers.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 30 August
WA3008162593

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

New round of Bosnian peace talks postponed ... Bosnian Assembly demands amendments be made to peace plan ... Bosnian Serbs, Croats accept plan; Croats proclaim establishment of new republic ... UNHCR civilians allowed to leave Muslim enclave in Mostar, UNPROFOR soldiers still blocked ... U.S. Senator Coverdell reportedly held in Kosovo.

DIPLOMATIC

NEW ROUND OF TALKS POSTPONED: TANJUG reports that a new round of Bosnian peace talks in Geneva has been postponed until tomorrow (31 August) because the Muslim delegation arrived too late for the talks to open on schedule. (LD3008100593)

ASSEMBLY DEMANDS AMENDMENTS TO PLAN (Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Assembly Chairman Lazovic announces that the Assembly will not agree to a peace plan proposed by international mediators Owen and

Stoltenberg unless amendments are made preventing Serbs from keeping territory that they obtained by force. (LD2908130993)

SERBS VOTE TO ACCEPT PLAN (TANJUG, BORBA, POLITIKA): Bosnian Serb assembly votes to accept peace plan, but Serbs from Kupres and Ozren—areas which, under the terms of the plan, Serbian forces would have to give up—denounce plan and vow to continue to “defend” territory. (LD2808205893, AU2708180893, AU2708154093)

CROATS ACCEPT PLAN, PROCLAIM REPUBLIC (Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Croat leader announces establishment of new “Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna;” newly-founded assembly votes to accept peace plan. (LD2808160393)

HUMANITARIAN AID

UNHCR CIVILIANS ALLOWED TO LEAVE MOSTAR (Zagreb Radio, AFP): Zagreb Radio reports Muslims in Mostar who have been blocking an aid convoy from leaving their enclave since 26 August have allowed UNHCR employees to leave the town. AFP says 52 Spanish UNPROFOR soldiers remain surrounded as Muslim soldiers have replaced civilian demonstrators who had blocked the convoy. (LD2808163793, AU3008130493)

POLITICAL

U.S. SENATOR REPORTEDLY DETAINED IN KOSOVO: Zagreb Radio reports announcement by Kosovo Human Rights Committee that Serbian police have “detained” U.S. Senator Coverdell during his two-day visit to Kosovo. (LD2808135093)

Roundup of Positions of Warring Parties on Geneva Plan

LD2808205893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2029
GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Pale, Aug 28 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb parliament on Saturday evening [28 August] accepted a peace plan proposed by international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg for turning Bosnia-Herzegovina into a union of three ethnic mini-states. The decision was approved with 55 votes for, 14 against and three abstentions.

Earlier in the day, the plan was accepted by Bosnian Croats. The position of the Bosnian Moslems is still unknown.

It has been learned that the Bosnian Moslem parliament ended a special closed session at about 21:00 hrs local time, but the verdict will probably not be known before Sunday.

REUTERS reports that the Bosnian Moslem parliament unanimously agreed on Saturday to carry on peace negotiations in Geneva but said the current shape of the peace plan could not be accepted. "We will go to Geneva to negotiate. The programme is not accepted. There are many new ideas and suggestions," the agency quotes Ejup Ganic, Bosnian Moslem vice-president, as saying.

The sessions of the three parliaments were for the most part held behind closed doors. The representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina's three warring sides and international mediators should return to Geneva on Monday for the conclusion of the peace process.

Assembly Demands Amendments to Peace Proposal**Officials Describe Demands**

LD2908124493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 29 Aug 93

[News conference with Information Minister Ivo Knezevic and Miro Lazovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, with journalists, in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] [Knezevic] Please, tell your name, and the name of the news agency you are reporting for.

[(?Demolic)]: (?Branka Demolic) of Bosnia-Herzegovina television. What will the composition of delegations for Geneva be?

[Lazovic] The composition of the delegation has not yet been defined, but it will be a state delegation.

[Correspondent [Name indistinct], in English, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] At one moment, it was said at the session that you demanded 40 percent of the territory. Is it true?

[Lazovic] That was not an explicit demand, but corrections to the maps will be demanded on the basis of the peace documents I have mentioned.

[Correspondent [name indistinct] in English, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Could you give more details—which areas these corrections will refer to?

[Lazovic] For the moment, I cannot speak about all the details; I suppose these are areas in eastern Bosnia.

[Correspondent [name indistinct], in English, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] BBC journalists: If we are to report precisely on what your position is, can we say that you rejected the plan, but wish to negotiate on the basis of amendments, that you are in favor of the corrected plan?

[Lazovic] We presented a series of demands, which include making improvements to the agreement, in the segment on the constitutional principles and also on the proposed maps. If these requirements are met, I believe the delegation will be ready to accept the agreement. Otherwise, I am not an optimist.

[Correspondent [name indistinct], in English to Serbo-Croatian translation] AFP journalist, [words indistinct] at least know that member of the presidency said no [word indistinct] was reached for the session of the assembly. Can you comment on that?

[Lazovic] The secretary general of the Assembly [Avdo Campara] will answer that question:

[Campara] [words indistinct, break in transmission] according to the release of deputies to the Assembly [words indistinct, break in transmission], we cannot count on the deputies who are imprisoned by the Croatian Defense Council, or deputies living in besieged towns of Gorazde, Srebrenica, Tesanj, and Maglaj. But we have statements [two-minute break in transmission].

[Unidentified correspondent] Direct consent for the continuation [two-second break in transmission] the demands that you presented decidedly insist on the territorial corrections. In this regard, have some demands been [word indistinct], or have they been contained in one of these seven demands?

[Lazovic] We explicitly stressed that we demand the strict observance of the London principles and standpoints presented in the resolution of the United Nations Security Council on Bosnia-Herzegovina. These documents say that the territories gained by force will not be recognized. Nor the territories that are the result of ethnic cleansing. We will ask the international community to observe these resolutions.

[Correspondent [name indistinct], in English to indistinct Serbo-Croatian translation] [Passage indistinct] ... in order to secure the implementation of this agreement.

[Lazovic] We seek firm guarantees that the agreement [break in transmission]. It is definite that such an agreement without the active participation of the United States will not be observed. We are asking for both their political and military support, if necessary.

[Correspondent [name indistinct] in English to Serbo-Croatian translation] [words indistinct] the number of these forces that would be necessary to implement this agreement.

[Lazovic] We do not know that. That has to be decided by the United Nations Security Council when they approve of this proposal.

[Correspondent [name indistinct] in indistinct English to Serbo-Croatian translation] Would you distinguish between U.S. troops and NATO troops?

[Lazovic] At the moment I cannot say. It remains to be seen what (?the reaction) to this agreement will be.

[Correspondent [name indistinct] in indistinct English to Serbo-Croatian translation] Since you rejected accepting the plan, what do you think the implications of that will be?

[Lazovic] We are asking for the continuation of the talks and fulfillment of our demands. One could say that we have [word indistinct] rejected this agreement, but we hope that all the participants of the continuation of negotiations will show a desire to compromise in order to finally accept an agreement that is acceptable to all.

[Correspondent [name indistinct] in indistinct English to Serbo-Croatian translation] Have you got some indications to believe that the Serbs and Croats in Geneva will be willing to [words indistinct]?

[Lazovic] Of course, we have not got clear indications, but I think that we enjoy political support from the international community, and we hope that they will stand behind our justified demands, particularly behind those demands of a political and democratic nature.

[Correspondent [name indistinct]] Are these demands a minimum below which the Bosnian delegation will not go [words indistinct]?

[Lazovic] We do not wish to set any ultimatums; we are open to negotiations and for a compromise solution. But, however, there are some principles below which we cannot go. Nobody can, nor is allowed, to place his signature on an agreement that would bring into question the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an integral state. That is the main limit below which we cannot go.

[Unidentified correspondent] At what time should guarantees by the international community that the signed agreement in Geneva will be implemented in reality be built into the agreement? Should one expect a new resolution that would represent a possibility for the implementation [words indistinct] or is it some new agreement?

[Lazovic] We expect the United Nations Security Council to accept the agreement once that agreement is signed by all sides in Geneva. This means that we expect a new resolution of the Security Council that would envisage a mechanism for the implementation of the agreement.

[Unidentified correspondent in English to Serbo-Croatian translation] Are there any indications from the U.S. ambassador who was here that America is ready to [words indistinct]?

[Lazovic] We had talks with the U.S. ambassador; I had an hour of talks with him. Mr. Jackovich told us very clearly that America is ready to take part in the implementation of this agreement and also in the material renewal of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the agreement is signed. Two more questions please.

[Unidentified correspondent in indistinct English to Serbo-Croatian translation] Is a delegation from Sarajevo traveling to Geneva tomorrow?

[Lazovic] I believe that the delegation will leave for Geneva tomorrow. The last question please.

[Unidentified correspondent in indistinct English to Serbo-Croatian translation] [words indistinct] that the Lisbon document gave Muslims 44 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that the original Vance-Owen plan gave them 40 percent, that this plan gives them around 30 percent. Do you not fear that the effective rejection of the plan at this moment represents a risk of further loss of territory and that you will further face a bigger problem with refugees [words indistinct]?

[Lazovic] We hope that all sides are ready for the solution to be found with political means.

Thank you very much.

Delegation Appointed

AU3008105893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] [Word indistinct] the state delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will travel today to Geneva to attend the resumption of the peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The delegation will be headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, and will include Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs; Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Republic Assembly; Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency; Ivo Kotic, chairman of the Croatian Peasants Party; Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, vice chairman of the Liberal Bosniak Organization; Istvan Ljubljancic, assembly deputy; Dr. Kasim Trnka, and (?Muzlim Suple).

The delegation should arrive in Geneva this afternoon where the negotiations are to resume today. Prior to departure, the negotiation team was given the (?guidelines) from the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina that the war must be ended as soon as possible and unhampered

passage given to all humanitarian convoys, that peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina should continue, and the offered constitutional principles used as a good basis for the negotiations.

Izetbegovic 'Pessimistic'

LD3008103393 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1000 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] [French Defense Minister] Francois Leotard has met with the Bosnian president in Sarajevo. According to Leotard, Alija Izetbegovic was very pessimistic about the Geneva negotiations which will resume tomorrow. What is proposed to us is worse than war, Izetbegovic said according to Leotard. According to the Bosnian president, this plan is not an end in itself but the beginning of a new negotiation for a fresh definition of the [political] map. Francois Leotard said Izetbegovic is ready to slam the door on the negotiations if he is not heard.

Izetbegovic Addresses Session

AU2708135093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Speech by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] Esteemed gentlemen [words indistinct]! In front of you lies the so-called Geneva package, which is supposed to contain the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the (?dead result) of the first exhausting talks in Geneva that, with interruptions, lasted for 25 days.

[Words indistinct] principle of the so-called reality, [words indistinct] the principles [word indistinct] the so-called realism. After the arrival of [words indistinct] military and economic situation on the ground and our [word indistinct] position. This very same position is [word indistinct] by two [word indistinct] nationalisms in our direct vicinity [word indistinct] (?perfidious) and the inexplicable indifference and passivity of the rest of the world.

Within such a concept, the constitutionality and [words indistinct] continuation of the war, we could no longer defend the concept of [word indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina. We decided at least to defend its integrity, for future. I hope, more rational generations. In the meantime, it seems that we must be divided. We can either do this at the negotiating table or on the battlefield, in a war [words indistinct] all laws would cease to apply.

I believe that is better that we do this at the negotiating table. However, this should be remembered for the sake of history: We did not want this division; it has been imposed upon us. The day will come [words indistinct] it will transpire that this was no (?ethnic or religious) conflict. [Words indistinct] this was not a civil war of

three warring sides, as is commonly said, but this was Bosnia-Herzegovina and two little imperialisms—the Serbian and the Croatian—who pounded this beautiful but unfortunate country from their [word indistinct]. [Sentence indistinct]. This is a task that [words indistinct] so that entire Bosnia-Herzegovina could be (?saved) for the future.

However, there is no reason for defeatism. We have not been defeated and they are not the winners. We have enormous problems, but theirs are not much lesser, only [words indistinct]. We have the support of the world, while they have the condemnation of the world. We are fighting a war of defense, while they are waging a war of conquest. They have the means, we have the people. We must keep these facts in mind when we make our decision. [Words indistinct] various stands, various viewpoints, various (?proposals). However, I believe that we can agree on the following:

First, that the Geneva talks should continue in order [word indistinct] the conditions for a just peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Second, to [words indistinct] the basis for the continuation of the talks.

Third, that there are two main reasons why the proposed document cannot be accepted. These are:

One, the [word indistinct] of territories [words indistinct] genocide and ethnic cleansing committed upon the Muslim peoples [words indistinct] that this territory is left under the control of the forces that (?have committed this crime). This primarily refers to the territories in eastern Bosnia, to Zvornik, [word indistinct], to Visegrad, and to Foca and the Bosnian (?Krajina), by which I mean Prijedor, Sanski Most, [word indistinct], and other towns.

Second, that the territorial access of the Bosnian republic to the sea is not guaranteed.

For this reason the Bosnian delegation will demand that the talks continue. In the continuation of the talks, the delegation will demand the following:

First, that the maps offered be amended so that the Bosnian republic would have the territory along the River Drina that is populated by Muslim people, adjoined and [words indistinct].

Second, to find a solution that gives the Bosnian republic access to the sea near Neum.

Third, that other minor corrections of borders be carried out in the valley of the River Neretva and in central Bosnia. Here I am referring to changes near (?Grebnica), Gornji Vakuf, [words indistinct].

I believe that we also concur and that we will concur that not even this document could be defined as [words indistinct] a relevant UN Security Council resolution, by

which the effective guarantees of the international community for the realization and observation of the agreement (?would be given). These guarantees must involve the relevant participation of the United States in this region. Thank you! [Applause]

Izetbegovic Reacts to Statements

LD2808165493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to deputies at Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session in the Sarajevo Holiday Inn—live]

[Text] Can he tell me how he thinks Bosnia-Herzegovina can be preserved in this form in the face of the advancing armies of [Bosnian Serb commander] Mladic and [Bosnian Croat leader] Boban's [word indistinct] hordes? Mr. (?Ceric) is telling us that we do not know anything [words indistinct]. We are asking you how to stop Mladic's army which is advancing on Sarajevo. Let the gentleman answer that question. I demand an answer to this.

I have been listening to a whole series of arguments yesterday and today. You know, I am proud of the fact that we have a body like this where different viewpoints are able to be aired, where [word indistinct] views can be heard, where deputies from several [words indistinct] as an illustration of multinational and multicultural Bosnia and a multiparty Bosnia.

We must recognize, however, that the main part of the discussions [words indistinct] as if I did not know how to demand that the refugees return to Sanski Most, Foca. [Word indistinct] that I did not know but (?he tells me) that Mr. Izetbegovic will not return. What do you mean they will not? [Indistinct passage]

Prime Minister Dismissed

AU2708143093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] At today's session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina presided over by Alija Izetbegovic, Mile Akmadzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was relieved of his duties. [Words indistinct] will inform all the parliamentary parties so that consultations on the election of a new prime minister could commence immediately. The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been informed of the Bosnia-Herzegovina branch of the Croatian Democratic Community's decision to withdraw its members [words indistinct].

Karadzic Reacts to Demands

LD2908180393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 29 Aug 93

[TANJUG punctuation throughout]

[Text] Pale, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Muslim demands basically mean the rejection of the Geneva plan, president of the republic of Srpska Radovan Karadzic stated today in connection with the conclusions of the Muslim assembly which were made public today.

In a statement for Radio and Television Serbia and TANJUG, Karadzic stressed that this is actually "a well-tested stalling tactic which, however, has not done and will not do any good to the Muslim side."

"They are really risking losing everything they have, and may cause a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into two parts," Karadzic said.

Important Muslim factors have been sending us signals that they would like to stay with us, Karadzic said. I do not know if they are sending such signals to the Croatian side from the Zenica region, but there is a serious risk that Bosnia will be divided into two parts, according to the will of its citizens."

"We would not like this, we would prefer the implementation of the current plan which is satisfactory for the Serbs, Croats and Muslims," Karadzic pointed out.

He added that through this plan the Muslims would get a state which is bigger than several European states. "I really do not know what else they want," Karadzic said, stressing that the Muslims will get the state "at the negotiating table which they lost on the battlefield."

Asked whether the Serbian side will agree to discuss the revision of the constitutional agreement in Geneva—something the Muslim assembly is in fact demanding—Karadzic replied:

"If opinions were coordinated on anything at the Geneva conference, and if anything was accepted by all three sides, then it was the constitutional agreement. This is in fact the constitutional document of the future union. There is no other document and there will not be any other document; only the constitutions of the republics. Work on the constitution is done, and we will not change a single word. Neither will we resume any activities in this regard," Karadzic said.

He pointed out that the real aspirations of the Muslim side have become apparent in these [assembly] conclusions, specifying that this applies to "a tendency to create a strong central authority."

"It is now perfectly clear why the war broke out and what they really want," he said. "They want Serbian domination over the Croats. The Serbs and the Croats constitute a majority in this former republic, and they will not accept this. The demand for the strengthening of central authority completely disqualifies them and justifies the Serbian and Croatian sides in their struggle for liberty and autonomy," Karadzic concluded.

Asked to comment on the statement by the Herceg-Bosna President Mate Boban that the Croatian side will sign the agreement if the other two sides accept it, Karadzic said:

"I believe that Boban was speaking about the fact that there can be no signing unless all three sides sign. We do not have anything to sign. We can sign something bilaterally with the Croats—whether it is a statement or whether it is an agreement on internal recognition and further cooperation. But if the Muslims do not sign, there is no document," Karadzic explained.

Asked how he assesses the negotiating position of the Serbian delegation in the continuation of the talks which begin in Geneva tomorrow, Karadzic replied that it is quite good, "even very good."

"We have been working for a long time on the process of reaching agreement on this draft with the Croat and Muslim sides in direct face-to-face talks. We reached a compromise solution which is painful for the Serbs and which got through the Assembly with difficulty. It is true that it had the backing of a majority of two-thirds of the delegates, but some areas were left which we must resolve later," Karadzic explained.

"Our position is very strong, as is Croatia's," he stressed. As for the Muslim side, Karadzic said:

"We are allowing the possibility that after the signing on the basis of goodwill or rather the free will of two or three sides, there could be some exchanges of territory."

"We have an interest in Kupres, in Srbobran, Ozren, the Neretva valley, and there could be such exchanges, but only after the signing of the Geneva plan on the basis of the agreement of three sovereign republics. There can be no question of any kind of speculation prior to this. To put it simply, the talks are over," Karadzic concluded.

Karadzic assessed that the negotiating process has been seriously threatened by the Muslim rejection of the agreement, but "not as much as it seems."

The president of the republic of Srpska stressed that "the Serbs and Croats are going down their own road. After 900 years the Croats have for the first time formed their first state, Croatia, and now they have formed a second state—Herceg-Bosna."

He added: "This is a great event for the Croatian nation. They will certainly go down their own road."

Karadzic pointed out that "if the Muslim side procrastinates or fails to accept the agreement, the Croats will go down the path of independence or the road of union [pripajanje] with the Republic of Croatia, and they have the right to do this as a sovereign nation with their own state in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

It is a very similar situation with the Serbs, he said.

"If the Muslim side really does not want peace on these bases, the Serbs will not lose any time. In the final analysis our state is functioning and is becoming stronger by the day; the economy will get better and better, and the tactic of procrastination adopted by the Muslim leadership cannot cause us as much damage as it will cause themselves," Karadzic concluded.

Bosnian Serb Assembly Accepts Peace Plan

Karadzic on Plan

AU2908193493 *Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 93*

[Report by Tatjana Lenard]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Lenard] This is how Dr. Radovan Karadzic explained the significance of last night's decision in Pale:

[Karadzic] This is a great victory in our assembly, a victory of peace. We are committed to peace, we are committed to the republic of Srpska. It will be at least as big as it is now on the map and if we do correct something with the borders commission, we have some goals, and we have the possibility to change the territory further in a completely sovereign and free way. In other words, I think that after this, after the offer and the acceptance of the international community of this option, the Serb assembly adopted that option, and from now on the republic of Srpska is a factor, an undisputed and inevitable fact, and I think that the international community must accept and recognize it. If the Croatian and Muslim sides, which we invite to join the agreement, accept it, then it will be a joint union. If not, then the republic of Srpska will still exist.

[Lenard] After the vote at approximately 0200 this morning, the president of the republic of Srpska held a news conference. Answering the questions posed by domestic and foreign correspondents, Dr. Karadzic stressed that he expected the international community to react positively to the assembly decision and to understand that the Serbs from Bosnia made significant concessions in the interests of peace.

One of the questions was what would happen to the Serbs outside the republic of Srpska. Dr. Karadzic said that the republic of Srpska would protect the rights of minorities on the territory of the new Serbian state and that he expected the Muslims and Croats to do the same. The Serbs who wanted to could move to the republic of Srpska. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Addresses Journalists

AU2908145393 *Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 93*

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic on news conference by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Mt. Jahorina on 28 August—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Jankovich] Several minutes before midnight, a news conference was organized for almost 100 correspondents who have been reporting from the Hotel Rajska Dolina on Mt. Jahorina for the past three days.

The first question addressed to Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, referred to the support of the army to the assembly's decision. We are fully aware that the concessions offered are not in the interest of the Serbian people, but we made them because they are in the interest of peace. It is clear that some strategic points will be handed over to the other two ethnic communities, but we are preparing for peace, not war, and as for the army, it is under the complete control of the civilian authorities, Karadzic stressed.

Asked what reactions one should expect from the international community after the Geneva accord has been accepted, Radovan Karadzic said:

[Karadzic] It would be realistic to expect the international community to take a completely objective and [word indistinct] stand toward the sides in the conflict. It is clearly a question of a civil war, and it is clear that the Serbs (?did not start) it, and that the Serbs have not voted for its continuation.

[Jankovic] The president of the republic of Srpska commented on the possible connection between the decision to accept the plan and the demand for the lifting of the UN sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Karadzic] The whole world knows that the sanctions are an unjustifiable and cruel punishment of an entire nation. We did not want to set any preconditions for the Geneva peace plan but, among the tasks we have been given by the assembly, we see the lifting of the sanctions as part of implementing the peace process. [sentence as heard]

[Jankovic] At the news conference, Radovan Karadzic also stressed: The Serbian people have protected their national interest and prevented someone else's domination. Now they have their own state within that union, which, at this stage, is acceptable to the Serbian people.

This last reply by Radovan Karadzic that came after midnight ended the debate on the Geneva peace plan on Mt. Jahorina. It is obvious that the war is not over yet and that more time is needed for the implementation of the Geneva document, but it is also obvious that the assembly of the republic of Srpska has made a large and perhaps a decisive step toward lasting peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mladic: 'Amendments' Possible

LD2808194693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Pale, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the army

of the republic of Srpska, told journalists this evening that a polemical debate was in progress on the Geneva document at the plenary session of the national assembly of the republic of Srpska. Mladic said this as he came out of the hall after consultations between the military leadership and deputies.

According to Mladic, two basic things must be borne in mind when approving the plan which has been put forward, and these are the republic of Srpska as a state and peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the maps, parts of which are contentious for deputies from some regions, Mladic said that it should not be forgotten that certain supplementary amendments are possible. Mladic added that it was not his task at the consultative session to suggest a decision but to point out to deputies all the possible implications in the event of a peace agreement being concluded, or of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina being continued.

Ozren Serbs Reject Plan

AU2708180893 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Aug 93 p 8

[Report by Z. Todorovic: "Ozren Serbs Will Not Give Ozren Away"]

[Text] Doboj, 25 Aug—The assembly of the association of the Serbian communes of the Ozren region has held a session on the Geneva agreement of the three national communities of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (still not ratified by parliament). The assembly session, which was chaired by chairman Tihomir Gligoric, was convened following discontent among the Ozren Serbs about the maps drafted in Geneva placing Ozren in the Muslim state. The Ozren region, with its 110,000 citizens in an area of 1,800 square kilometers, and the oldest Serbian orthodox church tradition on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, cannot belong to a Muslim state, the deputies decided.

This must not be permitted by the Serbian people of Ozren, the assembly statement says, and the firm resolution of the Ozren Serbs is affirmed by the sacred Serbian monuments (three monasteries: Ugrim in Gostovic, Vozucica in Vozuca, and St. Nicholas in Petrovo) that are more than 600 years old and were built by King Dragutin Nemanjic.

At the end of its session, the assembly of the association of the Serbian communes of the Ozren region decided that a delegation representing the Serbian people of six Serbian communes (Doboj, Maglaj, Petrovo, Zavidovici, Lukavac, and Banovici) should go to Pale and discuss the problems of the region with Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska. Another resolution is for an urgent meeting to be held with [Bosnian] Krajina deputies in Banja Luka, as Krajina is also largely unhappy with the maps. The decision was made that all Ozren Serbs, wherever they may be living, should return

to Ozren and that all Serbian volunteers from all Serbian lands should come to defend the oldest Serbian territory to the west of the Drina.

The Bishop of Zvornik and Tuzla, Mr. Vasilije, attended the assembly session.

Kupres Serbs Reject Withdrawal

AU2708154093 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Aug 93 p 2

[Report by C.M.: "Kupres Radicals Oppose Withdrawal"]

[Text] Kupres—"Brothers and Sisters, you are members of the army of the Srpska republic and are obliged to carry out the orders issued by your supreme commander, Radovan Karadzic. However, if Mr. Karadzic issues some order that would result in the withdrawal of the army or military equipment from the region of the Kupres Heights, it is your duty to reject this order and to prevent its execution with all means available." This was said in the open letter that the Communal Committee of the Serbian Radical Party of Kupres has sent to soldiers and officers of the army of the republic of Srpska at Kupres.

Agreement Difficult

AU2708152293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Report by Srdjan Savic from Pale]

[Text] The session of the Serbian Democratic Party deputy caucus is still under way in the Rajska Dolina Hotel at Jahorina. Somewhat contrary to expectations, the debate regarding the fifth point of the agreement on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has been bitter and has been going on for almost 24 hours. The fifth point of this agreement coordinated in Geneva on 20 August applies to the territorial partition of the three opposing sides. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the republic of Srpska, said that the coordination of views is proceeding with great difficulty above all because of the region of the Neretva Valley and Ozren, which, according to the Geneva agreement, should remain outside the republic of Srpska. Koljevic also pointed out that a letter had been sent to the international conference cochairs, Owen and Stoltenberg, because of a misunderstanding that occurred when the maps were drawn of the division near Brcko.

Speaking before the resumption of the morning meeting of the Serbian Democratic Party caucus, foreign minister Aleksa Buha said that he expects most deputies to vote in favor of the plan.

About 200 Muslim intellectuals met in Sarajevo today at Alija Izetbegovic's invitation to discuss the Geneva agreement. They are to be joined by members of the Muslim parliament this afternoon. On this occasion, the headquarters of the army of the Srpska republic has

announced that it has permitted Muslim deputies to pass safely through Serbian territory. The Croatian side is to debate the Geneva agreement on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina tomorrow.

The most recent reports suggest that the Serbian Democratic Party caucus meeting is expected to end soon and the session of the republic of Srpska parliament will follow.

Boban Proclaims Croatian State of Herceg-Bosna

LD2808160393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] After members of the presidency of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna and deputies in the Chamber of Municipalities of the former parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina established the House of Representatives of the Assembly of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the deputies adopted a unanimous decision on the founding of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Zdenko Vranjes reporting from the session in Grude:

[Begin Mate Boban, president of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna, recording] I am proclaiming the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna is founded and proclaimed, unanimously by all deputies. [end recording]

[Vranjes] This was the historic act of the proclamation of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna as a member of the union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This act is a proclamation, but also a legal decision.

The assembly of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna then adopted a stand on the Geneva documents with one vote against. The stand says that the representatives of the Croatian nation are ready to accept all the Geneva documents and the agreement on the organization of the union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina if the other two sides accept it as well.

The stand stresses that the Croatian nation is doing this guided by humane motives and the interests of peace, although the proposed maps are considerably detrimental to the Croatian nation. In the process of altering the maps, it is necessary to correct the illogicalities and the obvious injustice committed against the Croatian nation. The illogicalities and injustice refer to Bosnian Posavina, central Bosnia, and Mostar which must definitely be the capital of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the deputies have decided.

Thanks Tudjman

LD3008100193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Primarily thanks to you and your far-sighted leadership of Croatian policy, the Croats living in Bosnia-Herzegovina have seen the first rays of genuine freedom after six centuries with the setting up of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and of the chamber of

deputies, says a letter of thanks sent to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and Perica Jukic, chairman of the chamber of deputies.

We would like to extend our most sincere gratitude for everything you have been doing for us and our freedom, for the advice and prudence with which you have been leading us. Your support and congratulations on the occasion of the proclamation of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna were particularly encouraging to our deputies when adopting fundamental decisions, the letter says in conclusion.

Civilian Part of UN Convoy Leaves Mostar

LD2808163793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] The UN Protection Forces headquarters in Zagreb reports that 19 trucks of the large humanitarian convoy, blocked in the Muslim part of Mostar since 26 August, left the town this afternoon. Muslim authorities allowed only the civilian part of the convoy out, while the armored vehicles and members of the Spanish battalion were banned from leaving the town, the same source reported.

U.S. Humanitarian Aid Drops in Mostar Reported

LD2908101893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0947 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, August 29 (TANJUG)—Eight aircraft—six U.S. C-130 transporter planes, one French and one German Transall planes—on Saturday night [28 August] and in the early hours on Sunday parachuted crates with food to Moslem civilians in Mostar in the south of the war-battered former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This is a fifth night mission in a row intended to help Moslems in Mostar who are under siege by Bosnian Croats, reported the French news agency AFP.

After successfully completing the mission and dropping a total of 55 tonnes of food, the planes returned at dawn to their airbase near Frankfurt.

Muslims Launch 'Fierce Attack' on Mostar

LD3008104993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Muslim forces after midnight launched a fierce attack on the positions of Croatian Defense Council [HVO] troops around a relay station near Novi Travnik. Fierce fighting in the Uskoplje valley also continued. On several occasions last night the Muslims attempted to penetrate the urban frontline in Mostar, but the HVO units prevented them from doing so. Mortar explosions are sporadically reverberating this morning south and north of Mostar.

The information service of the Spanish UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] battalion confirmed that there will be no negotiations between the HVO and the Muslim army today on the exchange of POWs because the Muslims still refuse to negotiate.

Croats, Serbs Continue Shelling of Mostar

LD2908142093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Excerpt] We have just received the latest report from Mostar.

At least 20 people were injured—two of them have since succumbed to their injuries—in the latest criminal attack on [words indistinct] parts of Mostar controlled by Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 4th Corps. The Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] were this morning joined by Serb aggressors from the foot of Mt. Velebit in an artillery attack on the free areas of Mostar Municipality. From their strongholds, Serb soldiers suddenly unleashed a barrage of tank and mortar fire on Blagaj, Malo Polje, [name indistinct] and other places south of the town. There were at least 27 shell explosions, which caused an enormous damage. Seven civilians were injured in this attack alone.

The Croatian Army and HVO units have violated the cease-fire on the Mostar front with increased frequency in the past 24 hours. On several occasions last night and this morning they launched mortar attacks on the central areas of the free part of the town. Explosions were also heard near the base of the Spanish battalion of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], which is still in the town awaiting the final agreement on the status of peace observers in central Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

British Troops Kill One Croat Soldier, Injure Two

LD2708134593 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1211 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Report by Alison Cameron and Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION]

[Text] British troops shot dead one Croat soldier and injured two others when they came under fire at Redoubt Camp in central Bosnia, the Army said today.

The shooting started as two busloads of Croat troops passed the lonely British base, high in the mountains along the tortuous supply route that links the area with the Adriatic coast. An army spokesman said: "Two buses were travelling south when they fired five times at sentries on the edge of Redoubt Camp. Fire was returned and then the buses went on to the civilian hospital at Tomislavgrad."

At the hospital one man was found to be dead and the two others were admitted for treatment. No details of their injuries were available.

Thousands of Croat soldiers regularly pass along the track and often fire their weapons into the air close to British troops but, on this occasion, the camp was deliberately targeted. The spokesman said there was no evidence that the shooting was caused by any earlier incident.

Redoubt Camp, visited earlier this month by Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, is the home of 1 Field Squadron from 21 Engineer Regiment. The engineers work long hours extending and improving the track over the mountains which has become the sole supply route into central and northern Bosnia.

The incident, which happened last night, came as it was disclosed that British forces in Bosnia have killed about 18 Croat and Muslim fighters in return fire. It is estimated the British force has come under fire 47 times from the warring groups.

Croats Explain Incident

LD2708154193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] A shooting incident took place near UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] base on Vran Planina last night. One HVO [Croatian Defense Council] was killed and two were injured.

According to unconfirmed information, the incident took place when HVO soldiers, returning from the front in their trucks, fired shots into the air as they were passing by the base. Members of the British battalion allegedly took this to be an attack on the base and opened fire. One HVO member was killed and two wounded in this shooting.

A specialist team is on the spot investigating all circumstances relevant to this incident, the information service of the Herceg-Bosna HVO has reported.

ICRC Prevented From Registering POW's

LD2908105293 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 0900 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] says its humanitarian activities in Bosnia are still being hindered on a massive scale. In its latest report, the Geneva-based organization says that the warring factions have prevented it exercising its right to register all prisoners-of-war. The report said ICRC delegates had visited more than 4,000 prisoners in nearly 50 locations over the last three months. However, it said, they were denied access to many others by all three factions.

UNHCR Convoys Reach Croatian Enclaves

AU2908142493 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 29 (AFP)—Two convoys carrying 160 tonnes of aid got through to Croat enclaves surrounded by Moslem forces in central Bosnia-Herzegovina, UNHCR spokesman Manuel de Almeida said Sunday [29 August].

Fifteen lorries unloaded about 100 tonnes of food and medicines in Nova Bila, 60 kilometres (36 miles) northwest of Sarajevo on Saturday evening.

And seven others reached Busovaca, 40 kilometres (24 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, with 60 tonnes of aid the same night.

A third eight-lorry convoy carrying some 73 tonnes of aid was continuing Sunday morning to Vares, 40 kilometres north of Sarajevo, after having spent the night in Busovaca.

All three convoys sent by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees left Metkovic in southern Croatia on Saturday morning.

Zagreb authorities and the Bosnian Croats have repeatedly called in recent days for help for the Croat enclaves, especially Nova Bila, where they say some 100 wounded people are in need of proper care and medication.

They have blamed international organisations for being biased towards the Moslems in terms of aid.

Croatian Official Details Prisoners Held by Muslims

LD2908134193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Excerpt] Berislav Pusic, head of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] department for POW exchange of the republic of Herceg-Bosna, has revealed the numbers of the detained civilians and soldiers in various prisons and camps run by the Muslim side.

According to the information available to the department, 450 Croat civilians and 110 HVO soldiers are imprisoned in Mostar, 59 soldiers and 690 civilians from Jablanica are detained in Jablanica, 214 civilians from Doljani are being kept in a Konjic memorial center, and 60 civilians are detained in the so-called Musala [Muslim prayer center] (?there). In Bugojno, 2,500 civilians and 750 soldiers are imprisoned. In several concentration camps, there are 1,500 Croats in a Zenica music school, in Tarcin there are 150 civilians from Podorasac and Konjic, and 2,500 civilians in the village of Paracovic, Konjic Municipality. The 110 HVO soldiers who were taken from Zepce Municipality are also being detained near Zenica. [passage omitted]

Abdic Reportedly Urges UN To Lift FRY Sanctions

LD2708181693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Bihac, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, member of the pro-Moslem Presidency of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, has called for an urgent lifting of the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], because their impact is being felt not only by citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but also by many others from the former Yugoslav federation.

"Our people think wrong ... not only the people, but most of the Moslem and Croatian leadership ... we all feel these sanctions. That is why we should accept the peace plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible and request the lifting of sanctions," emphasized Abdic on Thursday speaking for the local radio in Velika Kladusa, a town in the Cazin region of northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina, where he won the prewar republican election.

The integral package on Bosnia-Herzegovina, presented to the representatives of the three warring sides—Serb, Croat and Moslem—contains the blueprint for constitutional arrangement and the maps for delimitation between the three ethnic republics to make up a future union of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Bosnian Moslem parliament is to decide on the Geneva agreement on Friday in Sarajevo.

Embittered by the failure of Moslem deputies from his region to accept the plan, Abdic asked: "What do the gentlemen want, peace or war?"

He went on: "They want peace but they are intent on war. Those who want to fight let them do so, but they must know that people should go to war of their own free will, and not by force, as it is already done in the Moslem army.... Are they aware of what will they do if they do not accept the documents offered in Geneva. Do they know that they will die of hunger?"

In case the Geneva documents were not accepted, Abdic on Wednesday put the blame in advance on Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, vice-president of the Presidency Ejup Ganic, Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic and others, branding them as advocates of the war option which "leads to destruction of the Moslem people."

The Geneva agreement is to be "verified" by the parliaments of the three sides by August 30.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Continued Fighting

AU3008115193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 30 August

within its regular 18-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A studio announcer says that "there has been no peace on the Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts during the night and this morning. The aggressor's offensives were particularly fierce in the region covered by the Seven South Operation Group." An unidentified correspondent reads a report by the Seven South Operation Group saying that "although the intensity of the enemy artillery barrage was a little lower than in previous days, more than 200 heavy shells were fired, but 29 August will be remembered for the number of civilian casualties and the unprecedented genocide that the Teslic chetniks committed against innocent Muslim citizens. Namely, shortly after 1700 yesterday, the aggressors forced a group of about 300 Muslim women, children, and old people to serve them as a human shield and walk over (our) mine fields (from the direction of) Teslic. These unfortunate people were then fired upon with small arms. On this occasion many were massacred and dozens wounded by detonating the mines and by the bullets. Those who survived have been accommodated in Tesanj and the villages nearby and their stories are dreadful."

The studio announcer announces a report by Salih Brkic about "fierce battles in the Tuzla region," but the reception of the actual report is unmonitorable.

A report from Gorazde by an unidentified correspondent says that "the aggressor has continued his provocations along the separation lines. Twelve mortars were fired from Goli Vrh on Obradovici and an antiaircraft (?gun) fired sporadically at other lines."

The studio announcer says that "this morning in Bihac has been somewhat calmer, but the general alarm is still in force with further surprises possible."

Heavy Muslim Attacks Around Gornji Vakuf

LD2908152593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Dispatch by reporter Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] Amid the general euphoria after the foundation yesterday of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, reports of heavy Muslim army attacks are coming in from Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units defending central Bosnia and the Uskoplje valley. The Muslim offensive against HVO positions around Gornji Vakuf is in its second day. The heaviest attack was reported on the village of Mackovac lying on an important road in the Uskoplje valley. The Muslim army wishes to take control of this road, which would mean that Gornji Vakuf would be completely encircled. Despite the Muslim attacks the defense lines have remained unchanged. Heavy artillery and infantry battles are also being waged inside Gornji Vakuf and around the village of Zdrinci.

Villages in the vicinity of Kiseljak came under attack once again this morning. One person was killed and three wounded in the shelling of the village of Gojkovac. Three civilians were killed in the Muslim shelling of Novi Travnik's suburbs. [passage omitted]

Croatian Army Opens Fire on Serbs Near Trebinje

AU2908153493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Report by Jelena Dabarcic from Trebinje]

[Excerpt] Today is the 700th day of the war in Herzegovina, where the Serbian fighters are battling for the survival of their people on their ancestral hearths.

This is another day without peace. The Army of the Republic of Croatia from the occupied parts of the Trebinje commune has been firing with small arms and antiaircraft weapons against the defense lines. The villages in the Trebinje forest and Popovo Polje have not been spared either, as they came under a mortar attack this morning. It was particularly bad in (?Teleza), Hum, and [words indistinct]. Let me remind you that these villages are only some 10 kilometers away from the town on the Trebisnjica River. There have been no casualties on the Serb side, but the material damage is considerable. Whole swathes of woods have been burned, as the Croats used incendiary ammunition.

The occupying units of the Republic of Croatia Army which, according to the Geneva maps, should withdraw from some 50 Trebinje villages to the borders of their own state, have obviously no intention of doing that. According to Colonel Bogdan Kovac, commander of the Trebinje Brigade, the Croatian side on the occupied parts of the Trebinje commune is strengthening its positions, creating a border, and erecting bunkers in two rows along that borders. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Chance of U.S. Intervention

AU2908141893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Commentary by Todor Mirkovic]

[Text] Special forces that go under various names and are used for varied operation purposes are an important component of the U.S. Armed Forces. In the land forces, for example, these are units for special and psychological action, and the so-called Rangers. The Air Force also has units for special and psychological action, and the Navy has underwater sabotage units. All these units, according to the latest Pentagon terminology, are part of the Special Operations Forces.

In the new military strategy and [word indistinct] of the United Forces, the Special Operations Forces are given special treatment. They are given priority in the development of the armed forces in general, and their

standing is, de facto, more important than others in the overall structure of the United States forces. [sentence as heard]

The land forces, for example, have only three battalions of Rangers, but [words indistinct] even though only one regiment strong, they have the importance and power of a division. The Ranger units are primarily deployed for intelligence and sabotage operations, and their training is aimed at that, but they are also adapted to the requirements of the new U.S. strategy in reacting to regional crisis. The Rangers are sent to Somalia to locate and eliminate, together with special units for antiterrorist operations of the Delta group, the hideout of General Aideed, and his command structure. This task could not be achieved by the Air Force with air strikes.

The Pentagon's plans, as the U.S. military and other press states, include the option of sending the Rangers to Bosnia-Herzegovina, too. This option runs parallel to the option of air strikes, except that military experts believe that the former is more significant. They estimate that, because of the specific characteristics of the Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts, air strikes would not bring desired results. The locating and destroying of individual artillery positions and other targets in the Bosnian mountains and the scattered populated areas would be carried out more easily, according to them, by specially trained and equipped intelligence and sabotage units—the Rangers.

The latest developments in and out of Bosnia-Herzegovina have somewhat lifted the danger of any kind of foreign military intervention, including the deployment of the U.S. Rangers in the Bosnia-Herzegovina chaos. However, the Pentagon will probably keep the present options and, depending on the developments, work on new ones. Whether they will be used, depends on many internal and external circumstances.

Adviser of Serbian Negotiating Team Interviewed

93BA1369D Belgrade NTN in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 93 p 13

[Interview with Dr. Radomir B. Lukic, legal adviser to the negotiating team of the Republic of Serbia, by Jovan Janjic; place and date not given: "Territorial Concessions: I Fear the Rashness and Imprudence of People in Whose Hands the Decision on an Air Attack Lies"]

[Text] The talks in Geneva are attracting the attention not only of the "common," but also the specialized public, because of some legal "snags." On this subject, we are talking with Dr. Radomir B. Lukic, legal adviser to the negotiating team of the Republic of Serbia.

[Janjic] Professor Lukic, what do these talks in Geneva mean for all three belligerent countries in former Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Lukic] For the Serbian side, this means that the international community has finally recognized that its ideas about and assessments of the confederation, as the only possible national structure of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, have been accurate, as well as the de facto recognition of the Serbian people's right to self-determination and their own state. For the Croatian side, they signify a defeat of the policy of sitting on two chairs, or a collapse of their own self-love in playing a "wise diplomatic game," in which the other two countries will remain short-handed due only to the skill of the Croatian negotiators. For the Muslim side, a definite farewell to the dream about a unitarian Bosnia as a good foundation for a Muslim state, the instrumentalization of the Islamic state, and entry into the Confederation of Islamic Nations.

However, the international community will again determine whether this chance for peace, the biggest one so far, will be utilized and whether peace will prevail in the areas tormented by war. If the international community is objective, or if its aim is really peace, and not keeping this region in wartime chaos and constant tension, in order to realize some other plan for organizing the Balkan territories, then it will advance the peace process through equal diplomatic pressure on all three negotiating countries.

[Janjic] Where is the greatest tension in the Geneva negotiations: with constitutional structuring or territorial setting of borders?

[Lukic] These questions are, objectively viewed, equally difficult, so the answer to your question must be sought in the conduct of the negotiating countries. The Serbian side is evidently displaying good will in the negotiations and is carrying them out in good faith. For Serbia, constitutional principles and their institutionalization are already a completed matter, for now; because of this it is focusing its attention on questions related to territorial setting of borders. At the moment the negotiating conduct of the Croatian side is similar. The negotiating position and the negotiating tactics of the Muslim side are problematic. They want to make a big problem out of everything that does not suit them and to block the negotiating process. Therefore, the greatest difficulties are represented on the Muslim side, because the latest developments in the negotiations do not suit them at all. If they carried on the negotiations in good faith and did not get encouragement from outside to obstruct the negotiations, these two very important and difficult questions could be resolved relatively quickly and fairly.

[Janjic] How do you interpret the latest military threats from the U.S., are they pressure on the Serbian negotiators to make some larger concessions?

[Lukic] It seems that one should look in this light at the latest threats of U.S. president Clinton of air attacks on Serbian positions around Sarajevo. He decided to begin slowly to tighten the circle around the Republic of Serbia, because there are no American soldiers in the makeup of the

UNPROFOR (UN Protective Forces) in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. If there were, he would certainly conduct himself differently. However, threats against only one side, it has been shown, have never yielded any positive results or negotiating progress. I think that it will be that way now too. I fear the rashness and imprudence of people in whose hands the decision on air strikes lies. Their implementation would mean the ruin of the negotiating processes and dangerously threaten the Balkan and European territories, provoke new bloodshed and the development of new war hotspots in the Balkans.

[Janjic] What are the concessions that are being sought from the Serbs and that they are offering for the success of the negotiating process?

[Lukic] The list of present Serbian concessions up to now is fairly long. Primarily, there is the partial refraining from staying in Yugoslavia, to which the Serbian people had every moral right and the right according to the earlier constitutional structure of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and according to international law. With this the Serbian side has shown that it is willing to search for peace and a fair solution, which equally considers the historical and political interests of all three countries. In this phase of the negotiations, it could show good will, primarily in some questions of territorial border demarcation, and the president of the Srpska republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, has also given confirmation to this stance through his statements. Any other larger concessions by the Serbian side would mean its capitulation and releasing its hold over military victories won in the war, which has been forced on it, rather than displaying good negotiating will.

The problem is, as I said, on the Muslim side, because there is not a single one on its list of concessions. Their position is a little comic and tragic: Men who have led their people into certain disaster and defeat, who have lost almost all the battles, act like victors. The example of the variance between the proclaimed and the achieved is classic, but it's still possible for them, because their own people and the international community are allowing them to.

[Janjic] It has been proposed that borders between republics of the confederation be open. Doesn't this hide the danger for a renewed return to unitarian Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Lukic] The latest plan, the fourth in a row by the way, for the political and national organization of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is a mixture of confederal and federal elements, with a convincing predominance by the confederal elements, and some elements that resemble the UN guardianship over the confederation (the organization of the Court for Human Rights, rendering decisions on disputes between the confederation and the constitutive republics or between the constitutive republics themselves, the authority of the UN Security Council to rule on the decision of a constitutive republic to withdraw from the confederation).

Those very elements contained in your question are almost the only federal elements in the structure of the confederation.

Tudjman on Declaration of Herceg-Bosna Republic*LD2908183993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 93*

[Text] [Announcer] On the island of Brijuni today, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman gave his assessment of yesterday's proclamation of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna:

[Begin Tudjman recording] The proclamation of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna comes as a result of searching for a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in an attempt within the framework of the European conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina to end the war, to achieve peace. As far as the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are concerned, this is obviously an historic event. With this, the Croat nation preserved most of the territory on which it lives, and at the same time, it created conditions for the part of the Croat people that is being left outside the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna to enjoy full rights on the basis of reciprocity, not only civil, but also national rights.

As far as the entire Croatian nation is concerned, this is also an event of utmost importance, because the setting up of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna creates conditions for the strengthening of security of the state of Croatia, the Republic of Croatia, with regard to strategic security, geopolitical position of the Croatian state. Every reasonable Croat ought to welcome this event.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will anybody identify this with the possible creation of the Krajinas in the occupied regions of Croatia?

[Tudjman] Such comparisons are unreasonable, lest I should use a stronger word, because the Croat nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not only one of the indigenous populations, but is also a constituent nation, together with the Serb nation and the Muslims, while the Serbs in Croatia are a national minority.

According to present-day international norms, not just official political declarations, nations have the right to self-determination while national minorities do not. If national minorities were granted the right to self-determination, there would no longer be international order.

On the contrary, the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina through the creation of republics within the Union, creates preconditions for a peaceful resolution to the problem of the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] zones in Croatia. If this cannot be resolved in a peaceful way, Croatia will have the right to resolve this with all means at its disposal within its internationally recognized territorial integrity. [end recording]

Holds Meeting With Abdic*LD2908150493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 93*

[Text] Republic of Croatia President Dr. Franjo Tudjman received Fikret Abdic, Muslim leader of the Bihac Krajina, in Brioni today.

According to a statement released by the office of the president of the republic, the two men discussed the need to find new possibilities for cooperation between the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and the Muslim Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, between the Croat and the Muslim people in general, especially in the Republic of Croatia.

The operations carried out in the Republic of Croatia for the prevention of smuggling and terrorism are necessary for the protection of Croatia's state interests. They are not aimed against the Muslims but against those who attempt to use the territory of Croatia for perpetuating their criminal activities and thus abuse the magnanimity of the Republic of Croatia.

It was unanimously agreed that the Muslim leaders advocating Muslim-Croatian cooperation under the present circumstances and in the future should expand this collaboration and search for new opportunities both on the political and on the economic plane, the statement says.

Defense Minister Susak Threatens To Bomb Knin*LD2808014893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 27 Aug 93*

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak on Friday threatened to bomb Knin, the capital of the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), if the R.S.K. army should continue to shell the disputed Maslenica strait on the Adriatic coast.

Speaking on Croatian television, Susak explained that a message to this effect had been sent by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to the commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), French General Jean Cot, and the authorities in Knin.

Under an agreement signed by the R.S.K. and the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in Erdut in mid-July, the Croatian Army undertook to withdraw by July 31 from Maslenica, where it had built a pontoon bridge, and be replaced by UNPROFOR, in exchange for the use of the bridge. However, it failed to meet the deadline and two subsequent deadlines, forcing the R.S.K. to respond by closing the bridge.

The Croatian Army has been flouting U.N. resolutions and refusing to pull out of the areas it has occupied in the R.S.K. in its Zemagabirportn aggressions of June 1992 and January 1993—Viz. [words indistinct] the Peruca dam and the Miljevac plateau.

Meanwhile, the R.S.K. army is shelling the Maslenica bridge, preventing Croatia from using it until it has complied with the Erdut Agreement and with withdrawal from the occupied territories.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed in 1991 in the Serb-populated areas within the administratively-drawn communist-era borders of Croatia, in response to Croatia's [word indistinct] secession from Yugoslavia. The R.S.K. was placed under U.N. protection in March of last year.

Susak said that the "Croatian Army would take action if it became apparent that the UNPROFOR has failed in its mandate," but added that Croatia "still wants to negotiate a solution" to be problem of the U.N.-protected areas (unpas).

The R.S.K. army command said on Friday that the Croatian Army was continuing its fierce assaults, begun on Thursday, on the Serb positions and civilian facilities in the R.S.K. along the entire northern Dalmatian front. In one of the worst Croatian attacks since the [words indistinct] southwest R.S.K., in just one hour, the source said.

Serb Forces Threaten Zagreb

LD2808194893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1920
GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Knin, Aug 28 (TANJUG)—The Army Command of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on Saturday described Croatia's threat of bombing the RSK capital as "an aggressive adventure, because the Serb forces would retaliate by bombing Zagreb."

It would be an open aggression on the RSK and an all-out war with unforeseeable consequences for which the Croat side alone would be responsible, the RSK Army Command said in a statement.

The exchange of angry words between the two sides was prompted by a recent statement of Croatia's Defense Minister Gojko Susak who said that the Croatian Army would bomb Knin if the Serb side continued to shell the pontoon bridge in the disputed Maslenica channel on the Adriatic coast.

Under an agreement which Croatia and the RSK signed in mid-July in Erdut, the Croatian Army was to withdraw from the area of the Maslenica channel and other RSK territories which it occupied in June 1992 and January 1993 and hand them to U.N. peace-keepers. Croatia failed to honour the agreement and defied a U.N. resolution to that effect although the RSK postponed the withdrawal deadline several times.

The RSK was founded in 1991 in predominantly Serb-populated areas within the administrative borders of Croatia in response to its violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation. The RSK was placed under U.N. Protection in March 1992.

The latest tension between Croatia and the RSK took place two days after a meeting of their military delegations which, it has been learned, are to resume talks on a ceasefire agreement and cessation of hostilities in Budapest on Monday.

Granic Sends Letter to French, German Foreign Ministers

LD2708152793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Today, Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Croatia, sent a letter to German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe on behalf of President Franjo Tudjman, a Foreign Ministry statement says.

Dr. Granic's letter is a reply to a joint letter sent by the two ministers to President Tudjman on 25 August. Ministers Kinkel and Juppe in their letter expressed increasing concern regarding the developments in the UN Protected Area zones. They voiced their expectations that all obligations posed by the UN Security Council resolutions would be fulfilled, that the cease-fire agreement would be reached, and military confrontations stop.

In his reply, Dr. Granic briefed his counterparts on the Croatian positions regarding the latest developments in the occupied areas. He stressed Croatia's deep concern and dissatisfaction regarding a total blockade of the UN peace plan, day-and-night bombardment of coastal and other towns in the UN-protected areas, and the continued ethnic cleansing of the non-Serb population. He particularly underlined an unacceptable position by the so-called Krajina Serbs, who are refusing to observe the UN decisions, as the main obstacle for breaking the stalemate and finding a political solution. He gave the example of the Maslenica bridge and asked for help and support in securing roads within a process of seeking a way to achieve an overall negotiated settlement.

More Details on Letter

LD2708175393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Today, Dr. Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Croatia, sent a letter to German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe on behalf of President Tudjman, a Foreign Ministry statement says. [passage omitted]

Minister Granic stressed that Croatia is ready to accept the overall cease-fire agreement proposed by Ahrens and Vollebaek as a precondition for, and first step in the process of, reaching agreement and initiating dialogue on the establishment of communications, power, and all other kinds of links on the territory of Croatia.

Minister Granic reiterated Croatia's vital interest in a peaceful, political resolution on the basis of the peace

plan and all UN Security Council Resolutions. In this respect, Croatia has adopted a constructive approach aimed at reaching a negotiated political settlement in collaboration with the UN and all other relevant international factors.

He also noted that a political, functional, and negotiated division of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] mandate into three separate operations is necessary to reassert and materialize the provisions of Resolutions 815 and 847 on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia.

In the second part of his reply, Dr. Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, told about his visit to Medjugorje, Grude, Citluk, and Mostar in the capacity of personal envoy of the president of the republic, with the aim of helping in the talks on the delivery of humanitarian aid between international mediators and representatives of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna and the Croatian Defense Council.

Expressing satisfaction over the agreement reached on granting access to the convoys to both parts of Mostar, and over UNPROFOR's promise to organize a convoy for central Bosnia, Minister Granic warned his colleagues about the appalling conditions in which the Croat population was living in central Bosnia, where the Muslim aggressor is carrying out ethnic cleansing and where the Croat enclaves are in total humanitarian isolation.

He requested that the tragedy of the humanitarian situation in central Bosnia be perceived comprehensively and that appropriate aid be sent to all those in need.

Minister Granic said that the Croatian leadership will continue doing everything it can to ensure the unhindered and unconditional passage of humanitarian aid to all those in distress. Croatia's stand in this regard is perfectly firm and clear, in adherence with full and unconditional respect for international humanitarian law.

Request for ICRC To Visit POW Camps Accepted *LD3008104293 Hamburg DPA in German 0913 GMT 30 Aug 93*

[Text] Geneva (DPA)—Croatia intends to ensure that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will receive immediate access to all prisoner of war camps controlled by the Bosnian Croats. This assurance was given by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic to Helmut Schaefer, minister of state in the Foreign Ministry, today during a meeting in Geneva, Schaefer said. The two men are in Geneva on the occasion of the international conference for the protection of war victims.

The Red Cross knows of a total of 11 camps or sites in Bosnia where the Croats are holding mainly Muslims captive. It has so far been able to visit nine of them, but

in some cases only with restrictions; so far it has had no access to two of them. In Rodoc, Mostar alone, 22,000 prisoners are said to be held, a figure which the ICRC is unable to confirm. In Rodoc, Red Cross employees have spoken with 2,000 prisoners so far. [Sentence indistinct]

Schaefer told journalists that he made it clear to Granic, within the framework of a joint German-French demarche, that the mood in Germany vis-a-vis Croatia has become more critical because of the incidents in Mostar among other things. If Croatia does not improve its image worldwide and see to it that human rights violations cease, UN sanctions against Zagreb will also be a possibility.

In the talk with Granic, Schaefer said he got the impression that the Croatian side understands this. Croatia, moreover, has taken the first steps with the passage of the relief convoy to Mostar. Granic for his part pointed out that Croats are in Muslim POW camps.

Schaefer said, with regard to the negotiations on Bosnia in Geneva, he thought attempts should be made to end the war as quickly as possible at the negotiating table, even if the Muslims do not get everything they are hoping for. If the Muslims resist such a compromise, as the only party to do so, then they will have to bear the responsibility for what happens next.

Serbian Krajina's SDS Breaks Up Into Factions

*AU2708140493 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
24 Aug 93 p 8*

[Article by D. Djukic: "SDS Is Getting United and Divided"]

[Text] Petrinja, 23 August 1993—After the decision had been made by the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina to propose that parliament organize the first democratic elections, the political scene in Krajina became agitated.

The government requires the first round of the elections to be held on 31 October, but it is questionable whether all the necessary conditions will be met by then, according to an expert on Krajina politics and an adviser to Boro Martinovic's government. He says that parliament should approve all the election laws that have been devised so far by the government. Before that, however, the Krajina parliament should also adopt some constitutional changes regarding the transformation of the commune system in Krajina. The republic of Serbian Krajina should be organized into five regions, but the number of communes has not yet been determined. It was also planned to reduce the number of members of parliament from 270 to 60. Parliament should reach a decision on the suspension of the state of war, because, according to the constitution, elections cannot take place while there is a state of war or if there is the danger of war. According to Martinovic, there are no conditions

for an election as long as a large number of citizens are mobilized, so there can be absolutely no election campaign.

On the other hand, party activities have not completely died out during this period of war. One of the most important party activities was the contact the Serbian Democratic Party of the republic of Serbian Krajina (SDS RSK) made with the parties of the same name, first of all, in the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and then in Serbia and in Montenegro. Following several meetings, it was recently decided in Novi Sad that all these parties merge into a unified party. It is stated in the merger document that all Serbian Democratic Parties in Serbian states and abroad unite and that a temporary coordination committee led by Radovan Karadzic will lead the new SDS until the first assembly takes place.

Dramatic Party Activities

At a recent SDS RSK convention in Glina, this party was described as the party of Mr. Radovan Karadzic, Mile Paspalj, chairman of the Krajina parliament; Spiro Kusic and Vojko Peuraca, ministers in the Krajina government; Nikola Bandur, chairman of the executive council of the Petrinja commune; and Radoslav Tanjga, chairman of the SDS RSK executive committee; appeared on behalf of the SDS RSK in Glina.

The very next day, however, it was reported that a convention of the party with the same name, the SDS RSK, had also been held in Knin. The chairman of the convention there was Branko Marjanovic. Zdravko Zecevic, the former prime minister of the Krajina government, was also present. This convention was attended mainly by the delegates from one part of Dalmatia and a

part of Lika. As far as the discussion topics are concerned, it was reported that the most recent divisions within the SDS RSK were discussed, since a negative attitude toward Hadzic, Paspalj, Tanjga and some other former party colleagues was expressed. After Raskovic's SDS was split into Babic's Krajina SDS and Paspalj's and Hadzic's SDS RSK, this probably represents an announcement of new divisions within the latter. It is not yet known into how many parts the original Serbian Democratic Party of Jovo Raskovic will be broken. Nor is it known what significant differences there are in the programs of these new parts. The only thing that is known is that all of them claim to adhere to Raskovic's principles and that they agree that Krajina will never be part of Croatia.

Provocations by the Radical Party Are Becoming Frequent

The atmosphere on the Krajina political scene is becoming heated because of provocations by Radical Party leader Mr. Rade Leskovac, who said that the party had been examining the machinations of President Goran Hadzic.

A Serbian Democratic Alliance has been introduced as a new party in Knin, and there are rumors that a Social Liberal Party will be established in Petrinja. The activity of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia has very often been mentioned in meetings in Krajina, but none of its members has yet been observed as wanting to speak in public. It is not clear whether any of them would be allowed to make a public appearance, since the party was banned by the then president Milan Babic on 4 July 1991, and this ruling does not appear to have been revoked as yet.

Peterle, Italian Foreign Minister Meet in Ljubljana

LD2708135893 Rome RAI Uno Television Network in Italian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 93

[Video report by correspondent Fulvio Molinari in Ljubljana]

[Text] [Announcer] After the debates that took place over the past few days on the Italian Government's decision to reinforce anti-terrorist measures at our eastern border, Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta and his Slovene colleague Lojze Peterle held talks.

[Molinari] The foreign ministers discussed a policy of goodwill gestures in order to solve the most difficult problems: Protection of respective minorities and the possibility of Italian refugees from Istria repurchasing their houses across the border. Foreign Ministers Andreatta and Peterle discussed these problems aboard a boat on Lake Bled.

Revision of bilateral treaties will continue at committee level and will be concluded at a meeting of government heads. Slovenia succeeded to former Yugoslavia. There are no unsolvable problems. Slovenia has asked Italy to aid its entry into the European Community. Italy supports the small, new, central European state's entry to NATO and the WEU [Western European Union]. It is also interested in investment in Slovenia so that it does not lag behind Germany and Austria, who are very active in this new market.

The talks were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. They also discussed highway links to bring Italy nearer to the Balkans and the Danube. Both ministers expressed pessimism for an end to the Bosnian tragedy in the near future.

Slovenia defused the controversy on the presence of Italian troops at the border. Both countries' interior ministers are to hold talks on increasing border security to end weapons and drug smuggling.

Italian Minister Favors Entry Into EC

LD2708144493 Rome RAI Uno Television Network in Italian 2205 GMT 26 Aug 93

[Interview with Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta by correspondent Fulvio Molinari in Slovenia; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] [passage omitted: covered by referent item] Our correspondent, Fulvio Molinari, has interviewed Foreign Minister Andreatta:

[Molinari] Minister, have you defused the possible controversy surrounding the use of Italian troops at the border?

[Andreatta] Well, problems with neighbors are always complicated. The problem of using hundreds of Italian troops to strengthen police forces is dramatized here in

Slovenia. I think that the importance of today's conclusion lies in creating cooperation between the interior ministers in order to crack down on arms and drugs smuggling through our common border. I also told my Slovene colleague that we will keep the possibility of preventive information [as heard] on possible movements of troops, even if below limits imposed by international law. We must communicate to other countries the movement of 9,000 troops or more, that is 20 times the number of troops we actually moved. We will give information even on smaller movements.

[Molinari] Does Italy have an interest in Slovenia's entry to the European Community, NATO, and the European security system?

[Andreatta] I think that we must realistically acknowledge the fact that Slovenia is part of central Europe, and that it has made more progress than other countries as far as the institution of a free market is concerned. Its entry into economic unification [as heard] and in common European security structures is, I think, in general interests and even in Italian interests. It would be a reassuring factor at our common border.

Populist Deputy Worked for Secret Police

93BA1275A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Jul 93 p 2

[Article by C.R.: "Zmago Jelencic, PADALEC, Was a Registered, Active SDV Collaborator"]

[Text] *The State Assembly deputy who launched the idea of a law on destroying personal dossiers has an UDBA [State Security Administration] registration document; the SDV [State Security Service] paid for his trips abroad; his joining the allies of Drnovsek's victorious party is explained.*

Ljubljana, 19 Jul—A while ago, the president of the Slovene National Party [SNS] and State Assembly deputy Zmago Jelencic, and that party's deputy Polonca Dobrajc, submitted ideas for a law on destroying the personal dossiers of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] intelligence services. The initiative gave rise to several misgivings, serious objections, and also approbation. It particularly renewed several assumptions, so far mere speculations, about whether one of the above-mentioned proposers was nevertheless attempting to destroy the UDBA dossiers because of his own interests.

While well-informed (and also journalistic) circles already knew for some time, of course, that Zmago Jelencic's role in the past was not exactly an open book and that it was full of unknowns and especially gaps in his biography, and especially after the "skillful" VIS [Security-Information Service] scandal, it became clear that Jelencic's present political involvement, and especially his behavior after the December elections, were somehow connected with his past. In Jelencic's case, it is also linked to his official status as an SDV collaborator.

In UDBA terminology, as the documents testify, Zmago Jelincic was one of the important "international members," and was among the so-called registered UDBA collaborators. If we relate his case—because a misunderstanding—to the scandal involving Justice Minister Miha Kozinc, then one should be aware that Kozinc was not a registered SDV collaborator, but rather only had contacts with individual UDBA agents. Whereas Kozinc appeared in individual UDBA documents containing notes on SDV employees' talks with him (in connection with Vinko Levstik), Zmago Jelincic appears in the UDBA dossiers as an active and moreover voluntary collaborator.

Jelincic's extremely right-wing campaign and the numerous scandals that have been associated with his name, especially in the last two years, "culminated" in the postelection tactics of Jelincic's Slovene National Party [SNS], for which not even political analysts could give a good explanation, not to mention individual members of his party and his party-deputy colleagues.

The instantaneous constructive attitude that Zmago Jelincic showed at the time when Janez Drnovsek's right-left coalition was being put together already gave rise to several speculations last December about what was in the background of that kind of conduct and behavior by Jelincic. Parties and individuals who, during the pre-election period, had fostered clearly negative feelings toward the party and its leader, who were considered a right-wing populist and militant-nationalist part of Slovene politics, obtained Jelincic and his party as an ally.

Drnovsek's victorious Liberal Democrats, who several months before this demanded an official, judicial ban on the SNS's activity, forgot overnight about that party's pedigree, and obtained a crucial ally in Jelincic and his deputies. Jelincic's deputies, in fact, were the feather on the scales that decided in favor of Drnovsek's coalition government, something that was portrayed as a major and even "historic" lack of principle on the part of Zmago Jelincic and his party. It culminated in the well-known schism in the party and the first assumptions that Jelincic had concluded a "nonaggression pact" with the prime minister-designate. One could only hear in the corridors that Jelincic had no choice but to agree to such a role because of his past.

The SDV registered Zmago Jelincic as a collaborator under registration number 53384 and under the cover-name PADALEC ["Parachutist"] on 6 July 1987, which is proven by the UDBA document and the "Order for Registration" form, which contains all the data on the newly registered State Security collaborator (date of birth, district of birth, education, citizenship, residence, etc.). The "Order for Registration", under the heading "type of collaborator," says that Jelincic was a "collaborator in connection with a source of hostile activity."

The heading that talks about the "basis for collaboration" is interesting, since it says "personal elements,

counterservices," which indicates that Jelincic agreed to cooperate with State Security voluntarily. We can also take that "volunteering" arbitrarily, as demonstrated by a document or note that was composed at the SDV's Ljubljana center on 29 May 1987 and signed by Rado Rozman, an employee of that service. The document bears the title "Subject: Collaborator PADALEC—Report on Involvement."

"We established contact with the collaborator at the beginning of 1986, namely with the goal of determining the possibility of operational collaboration for a longer period of time. The operative made use of a fleeting acquaintance with the collaborator from childhood, and likewise at that time court proceedings because of a KD (criminal act—author's note) under article 220 of the Slovene Socialist Republic's criminal code—the unauthorized possession of a considerable amount of weapons and other explosive substances—were in their final phase. We promised to help him in solving that problem, which he also believed after being paroled. In accordance with our agreement and without instructions, he maintained contacts with Nora Beloff during his trips to London. He reported on the contacts and showed willingness for further cooperation. Likewise, during a later period we used his stay at the Slovene House in London and Paris for him to provide information on his impressions and contacts with Crenik and Rot.

"His penetration of NSK [Neue Slowenische Kunst] circles on his own initiative, where he performs technical services (pyrotechnics), allowed him to travel to Great Britain, where we intend to use him in future operations. At that time, we also offered him several services, and also reimbursed him some of his expenses for trips abroad. We think that his collaboration relationship should be restored and trust in him should be restored, regardless of his incriminating past."

Otherwise, Jelincic's registration documents also talks precisely about the guidelines for the State Security collaborator. Literally, they were abroad, 122 OS [intelligence service] Great Britain, and 210 Slovene emigres (in general), and territorially, Ljubljana, Trieste, Celovec [Klagenfurt], and London. Zmago Jelincic had direct contacts with SDV employee Rado Rozman from the SDV center in Ljubljana City (section II/2). Under the heading "Assessment of usability possibilities for work," it says: "So far the collaborator PADALEC has provided us with some information of security interest, which he had from his contacts with Nora Beloff, individual emigre clergymen, and other interesting structures abroad. In addition to maintaining contacts with Nora Beloff, the collaborator also has every possibility of penetrating other British security institutions and individual Slovene political emigres abroad and in Europe."

An inventory of documents in Jelincic's UDBA dossier, number 54484, which was prepared by the SDV, talks about Zmago Jelincic, collaborator PADALEC, born on 7

January 1948. The inventory contains the following documents: the order to register the collaborator, verification, a report on the collaborator's involvement, a proposal for Jelincic to travel to London, the collaborator's contact with American correspondent Palmer (findings), information on Jelincic, and a proposal to reimburse the collaborator's expenses and the approval. The registration order

also has the signature of Nikola Proksl, a former SDV scholarship recipient, its employee who was taken by former SDV chief Ivan Erzen with him to Belgrade, where he worked at the SDV's Belgrade state headquarters, and in Belgrade he also handled the protection of then President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek. Proksl received Jelincic's registration to look at.

Federal

Perisic: Army Will Not Allow War To Spread To Kosovo

LD2908133393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1212
GMT 29 Aug 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, August 29 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army is committed to defending the independence and integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it is characterized by a high level of combat readiness and will not allow war to spread from the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Yugoslav territory, especially to Serbia's southern province of Kosovo, where a strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active over the years, new Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army Lieutenant-General Momcilo Perisic said in an interview published by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on Sunday.

In his first interview after being appointed to the post earlier this week, General Perisic, 49, who is the youngest Yugoslav army chief of the general staff so far, announced new steps in the process of transformation of the Army, which has emerged from the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) after the disintegration of the former Yugoslav federation of six republics.

General Perisic praised the JNA for having qualified and helped the Serbian people in the break-away republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to defend their freedom and independence.

"Owing to the fact that it had prepared the people for struggle, that people was able to heroically fight and succeed in protecting its goals," he said.

Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, who had been victims of genocide during World War Two, proclaimed their own states - the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and the Serb Republic, respectively - in response to Croatia's and Bosnia's secession from the former federation.

In order to fulfill its tasks, the Yugoslav Army must primarily be ready and capable to defend at any moment the integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the freedom and independence of all its citizens, said General Perisic.

Referring to the attitude of big powers towards Yugoslavia, which now comprises the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, General Perisic said that the international community had made a series of mistakes, including the imposition of the sanctions against Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the Bosnian war despite the fact that the JNA had withdrawn from the Bosnian territory before the outbreak of war there.

"If the world cares at all to stop the war in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will have to admit its

many mistakes," said the chief of the general staff and added that it would probably be difficult and that the world would probably try to "spread the war eastwards."

It might seek new flashpoints and one of such areas is Kosovo, where secessionists have failed to draw a moral from earlier wars, he said.

Over the past few decades, a strong separatist movement has been active in Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians are seeking to secede the province from Serbia and Yugoslavia and joint it to neighbouring Albania.

The Yugoslav Army, together with the Interior Ministry, is a factor of stability in Kosovo and it has so far acted very successfully, said General Perisic.

The Army has succeeded in preventing any actions which might lead to the spreading of war from Bosnia to the Serbian territory, he said.

The Yugoslav Army is ready and capable of preventing any rebellion and instigation of conflicts in Kosovo, concluded the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army.

Albanian Border Reported 'Increasingly Unstable'

AU2908195093 Pristina TVP Television Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Report by Miroslav Mihajlovic from the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Albania]

[Text] When it comes to observing the interstate border with Yugoslavia, Albania's behavior has never been the example of good neighborly relations. However, the things that have been happening on our southern border during the last three years, and particularly this year, have taken on disturbing proportions.

As many as 215 border incidents were registered in 1990 in the region of Prizren and Djakovica alone, when 25 Albanians and 11 of our citizens were killed. The border incidents and the provocations from the Albanian side, characterized by their aggressiveness and the use of arms, have particularly escalated this year. The targets of these attacks are most frequently our border guards, army installations, and border posts.

On 19 August, a Yugoslav border patrolman was killed on the Yugoslav territory. On 6 August, a group of Albanian soldiers and civilians penetrated the Yugoslav territory some 200 meters and attacked our border patrol. Two weeks ago, automatic arms fire was opened on Yugoslav Albanians who were in Bacili, as far as two km away from the border with Albania.

The Albanian authorities have so far not admitted that these attacks have been launched from its territory, despite indisputable evidence. After all, those same authorities, just like Albanian President Sali Berisha, do

not recognize the real existence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border. In accordance with their aspiration for the creation of a greater Albania and, as the Albanians like to say, the destruction of the Berlin Wall between Albania and Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija], the number of Albanian border guards has been reduced to the minimum, so the control of Albania's border territory is only conducted well inside the territory [po dubini].

Border posts are constantly being destroyed. During the last three years, some 70 border pyramids [piramida] have either been demolished or damaged. Last time it was on 12 August, when six of these sign posts were either broken or overturned.

The Albanian border control also tolerates illegal crossings, particularly when it comes to their citizens' looting forays, the targets of which are the property of their neighbors on the Yugoslav side of the border.

The leaders of the secessionist movement in Kosmet also contribute to the instigation of tension at the Yugoslav-Albanian border. Ibrahim Rugova called on his compatriots a long time ago to remove the Yugoslav-Albanian border, even though the Yugoslav Government clearly indicated that such attempts would not be tolerated. All in all, the border with the southern neighbor is becoming increasingly unstable every day and, with the end to the war in Bosnia in sight, the incidents are increasingly frequent.

Even though these are cases of flagrant violations of all the international documents on observing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states, the international community has so far not warned the Albanian authorities.

Jovanovic Blames Europe for Destabilizing Balkans

LD2708172493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613
GMT 27 Aug 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Corfu, August 27 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Vladislav Jovanovic accused on Friday Europe—strongly instigated by unified Germany—of dismantling the former Yugoslav Federation and destroying the strategic balance in the Balkans.

"The part of Europe where Yugoslavia is located has become a testing ground for models of power politics and foreign interests, and for their imposition. There is also an ambition to export this model to other parts of Europe and the world," Jovanovic told participants of an international conference on the national and international prospects of the Balkan crisis held in the Greek island of Corfu.

Recalling the fact that half the population of the one-time Yugoslav Federation had declared themselves against secession and vowed loyalty to Yugoslavia, Jovanovic noted a number of unprincipled acts by the world community which had paved the way for elimination of the then internationally recognized Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

He said that individual countries had supported one-sided and forcible secession of the former Yugoslav republics—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina—while denying the right to self-determination to the constituent Serb people in those republics.

"The right to self-determination was accorded to the territories of the republics and not to their constituent peoples, as envisaged by international law and the last SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Constitution," emphasized Jovanovic.

That, he said, had caused military conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and reopened the Serbian national question, which had been successfully settled for the past 70 years.

As another inconsistency of the international community Jovanovic mentioned that the "internationally recognized borders of the SFRY were ignored and violated, while the internal administrative dividing lines were proclaimed as international and unchangeable borders."

Pointing out that the FR of Yugoslavia merits the credit for the progress made at the Geneva negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jovanovic said that was a proof that the FR of Yugoslavia was an irreplaceable factor of stability in the Balkans. He added that it was impossible to reach a political solution and ensure stability in the region without a just settlement of the Serb question, which was a result of the dissolution of the former federation.

Jovanovic also said that the FR of Yugoslavia was opposed to any military solution of the problem between (the republic of Serb) Krajina and Croatia and was insisting on its settlement by political means—negotiations between legitimate Krajina and Croatian representatives.

Unkovic: 'Great' Chances for Lifting of Sanctions

LD2908202793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2016
GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Trade Minister Milorad Unkovic said on Sunday that chances for lifting U.N sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were "extremely great."

Speaking on the airwaves of the local radio station in Kragujevac, a central Serbian industrial center, Unkovic said that the precondition for the lifting of the sanctions

was peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that many countries eagerly await the lifting of the blockade in order to continue cooperation with Yugoslavia, "because it is in their interest too."

The U.N. Security Council in May 1992 imposed comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina. The sanctions have been tightened twice in the meantime.

Unkovic said he was convinced that the sanctions should be gradually eased, that imports of raw materials for pharmaceuticals would be granted "very soon," that Russia was ready to deliver natural gas to Yugoslavia and that the Italian company EMI had accepted to supervise the deliveries.

Asked about the seizure of goods from Yugoslavia, Unkovic said that the practice continued and that regretably this was particularly true of the countries with which Yugoslavia had traditionally good relations. They mostly seize our road vehicles, airplanes and sea- and river-going vessels, but financial assets are not spared either, explained Unkovic.

In most cases, the assets have actually been frozen and Yugoslavia expects that they will be duly returned once the sanctions have been lifted, said Unkovic.

Government Bans Commercial Export of Scarce Goods

LD2708195493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1943
GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Friday ruled to ban commercial exports of scarce food, medicine, articles for hygiene and other goods in short supply for the duration of the United Nations' sanctions against Yugoslavia. The regulation temporarily bans all export of wheat, maize, flour, bread, meat, livestock, milk and dairy products, eggs, cooking oil, salt, sugar, beans, potato, onion and garlic. The ban extends also to medicines, articles of hygiene, coffee, tobacco and cigarettes, cement, fertilizer and fodder for livestock and poultry.

Condemns Memorandum on Sandzak Region

LD2708215193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2026
GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Friday condemned a memorandum, adopted by Moslem hard-liners and demanding special status for the Sandzak region, as an act designed to create a state within the state of Yugoslavia.

The government said the memorandum, worked out by a group of intellectuals gathered around the Moslem Party of Democratic Action (S.D.A.), ran contrary to the constitutional and legal systems of Yugoslavia and its constituent republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

This act jeopardises the territorial integrity, sovereignty and constitutional systems of Yugoslavia and its republics, and as such is absolutely unacceptable, said the Yugoslav Government.

Under their constitutions, Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro are states of their citizens, who are equal before the law, irrespective of their nationality, race, sex, language, creed, political and other affiliations, it was heard at the government's session in Belgrade.

Sandzak is the Turkish name for the region of Raska (Kascia), situated in the border area between Serbia and Montenegro, and the cradle of mediaeval Serbia.

The S.D.A. leaders define 'autonomous Sandzak' as that territory which was set up as an autonomous region during world war two and held that status through 1943/45.

The Sandzak of that time comprised the territories of Priboj, Prijepolje, Nova Varos, Sjenica, Tutin and Novi Pazar in Serbia and Bijelo Polje, Rozaje and Pljevlja in Montenegro.

According to the 1991 census, Moslems account for one-half of the population of Sandzak (the other half being made up of Serbs and Montenegrins) and are the majority population in only four of the region's ten municipalities—Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica and Rozaje.

Colonel Acquitted in Downing of EC Aircraft

LD2708220493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2031
GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—A military court in Belgrade on Friday acquitted Colonel of the former Yugoslav People's Army Zivadin Vasiljevic of charges of endangering the security of aircraft in connection with last year's downing of an E.C. helicopter in Croatia.

The helicopter was shot down by the Air Force of the former Yugoslavia on January 7, 1992 in the vicinity of the Croatian town of Varazdin, causing the deaths of four Italians and a Frenchman.

Colonel Vasiljevic was charged with failing to inform his superiors of the announced but unauthorized flight of two E.C. helicopters from the Hungarian town of Kaposvar to Zagreb. At the time Colonel Vasiljevic was chief of the operations centre of the Air Force and anti-aircraft defence command.

An explanation of the ruling said it had been established that it was not Vasiljevic's duty to inform his superiors of the announced flight of the E.C. helicopters, because those had not been approved.

It was also established by evidence and the testimony of witnesses that no E.C. aircraft had been involved in unauthorized flights prior to this incident and that the pilots of the downed E.C. helicopter flew on their own responsibility, the explanation said.

In its ruling the court also said that there was no connection between the deaths of five members of the E.C. mission and what the defendant did, because Vasiljevic did not break any regulation or order.

Friday's trial and reading of the ruling was also attended by Italian deputy military prosecutor Carlo Palelli.

Migration From Vojvodina to Croatia, Hungary Viewed

AU3008095793 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 93 p 8

[Article by M. Stefanovic: "Migrations Full of Lies"]

[Text] The information that Croats and Hungarians from Vojvodina are moving out of the province in large numbers is an amazing piece of propaganda.

The Croatian authorities are trying to push these lies into the UN, trying to convince the world that the number of emigrants they cite is trustworthy. This anti-Serbian campaign has partially borne fruit, but after it became known that the data was far from being exact, the propaganda machine stopped for a while. It has resumed its campaign again, though.

The truth is that there is no forced emigration of Croats and Hungarians from Vojvodina. There have been Croat migrations from Vojvodina to Croatia, and of the Croatian Serbs to Vojvodina, but only on their own wishes, and they have had the opportunity to exchange the estates. A large number of Hungarians left Vojvodina in an attempt to escape the 1991 mobilization. Many of them returned a long time ago already, but many also stayed in Hungary.

There Is No Answer

Masquerading as fact, Croatian statistics claim that "there have been at least 35,000 forceful migrations of Croats and 50,000 of the Hungarians from Vojvodina in the last two years." If this statement is to be properly interpreted, it would mean that these emigrations were officially organized based on a decision passed by the republic's commune authorities.

This situation illustrates Croatian manipulations, and it is ready to make new. Admittedly, we cannot hide the fact that there were some problems in Novi Slankamen, Beska, Hrtkovci and other Serbian localities. We cannot deny either that there were extreme nationalists in these places who stirred up the already awkward situation. These are exceptions, though. Most of the Croats (this is not the case with the Hungarians) moved out legally.

Daily newspapers, especially DNEVNIK from Novi Sad, are still full of advertisements on the exchange or sale of apartments and houses between Croatia and Serbia. Many people also use the services of specialized agencies. What is the reason for this phenomenon?

The reasons are obvious: The Serbs in Croatia have not felt welcome for a long time already. "I do not want to live in a place where I have to be afraid of my child's and my own life," Dragoljub Jovanovic, who moved from Split to Novi Sad, says categorically. "I managed to exchange my apartment with a man who wanted to move out of Novi Sad. I asked him once why he wanted to leave and he could not give me an answer. Nobody persecuted him in Novi Sad, but he thought that he 'would feel safer among his people'."

The Croats from Vojvodina have not come to their new country as refugees. On the contrary, almost all of them, after having exchanged or sold their real estate, arrived in Croatia with all of their personal property. In most cases, they acquired much more valuable estate than that they left behind. Of course, there are exceptions, but it has been proven that conditions have seldom been favorable for Serbs coming here from Croatia. They got dilapidated houses or tiny apartments, even those who left restaurants, boutiques or stores in Croatia.

No Evidence

Although everything in connection with the emigration of Croats from Vojvodina should be clear, the Croatian authorities want to make as much public international fuss as possible. Also in support of this statement is the information that Mario Nobile, Croatian UN representative, submitted "all relevant facts" to this international organization. Although all the data is contrived, they still reached "the place in charge," from which a media campaign will begin, as usual, against Serbia and the Serbs.

As far as the Hungarians in Vojvodina are concerned, it is quite certain that their number is nowhere near 50,000. Margit Savovic, federal minister for human and minority rights, confirmed in Novi Sad some time ago that "there were migrations, but that the respective information was very modest." What is more, most Vojvodina Hungarians left the country only temporarily—they will return as soon as the 1991 mobilization problem is solved.

There are, of course, also Hungarians who have settled in Hungary; they found employment there, or, more often, they founded their private companies. Most of them live in Segedin or other locations in the vicinity of the Yugoslav border.

Hungarians have occasionally been threatened or even expelled from Vojvodina, or so claim the statements of some leaders of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians. But when their statements must be supported by examples, there is no answer. Both Croatia and the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians want to inform the world that their people are moving out of Vojvodina "because Serbian extreme nationalist groups trespass in their apartments; because they are mobilized by force or dismissed from jobs; because their property is in danger..."

Herzegovina Bishop's Open Letter to Draskovic

93BA1360A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 93
p 16

[Text of open letter from Bishop Atanasije of Zahum-Herzegovina to Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement: "Chiefs From the Land of Slaughter"]

[Text] Dear Mr. Draskovic,

You have only just left prison and now you already want to place us Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the prison-like protectorate of the West, which we have already experienced—and we know how that turned out.

Was it not only yesterday that you and your competitor from Dedinje asked us to submit to the Vance-Owen plan? And now you are feigning ignorance, "see no evil, hear no evil," while only we know what would happen if we were to subject ourselves to this dictate and injustice.

We are pained by the suffering of every human being and nation, but we know about the wounds of our fraternal Cyprus, where gentlemen from Geneva and New York have simply sanctioned the Turkish occupation for two decades now.

Your policy and that of Dedinje, mainly that of the Belgrade pashaluk, is alternately "nationalistic" and "democratic," slightly or rarely patriotic and Christian in a genuine sense, and is primarily based on a lackey-like, but ostensibly "dignified" stance toward the powers-that-be of this world and age. For both of you, it appears that it is more important that they accept you, or you them, that you have breakfast with them or issue a joint announcement, than it is to seek the true patriotism of all Serbs everywhere and especially genuine humanity and the liberating and righteous spirit of Christ's Orthodoxy.

It is a false dilemma: the state or democracy, democracy or patriotism, just as there is a false dilemma for Serbs today: the choice between the two of you, or other political leaders similar to you with the same mentality—in this onerous land of slaughter in the lands of St. Sava and Jovan Ducic.

You have not listened to, much less followed, the advice of friends, such as the best nonpartisan people in DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], and especially the Serbian patriarch, whom you, like your sponsor Seselj, have lectured. You have not learned any lessons from the fiasco with Milosevic's Panic, nor from this latest defeatist "fast." It seems that to you it is more important to issue statements and give interviews than to pay at least a brief visit to Herzegovina.

You have read, and defended from the communists, Veliki Vladika of Lelic, but you have ignored his St. Sava experience of Europe, which in its totalitarian mentality often banishes even its best sons, to say nothing of us in the Balkans, which is its source for everything better.

"A wise man comprehends quickly..." to quote Solomon.

On St. Vladimir the Russian 1993

Bishop Atanasije of Zahum-Herzegovina

Draskovic's Response

93BA1360B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 93
pp 16-17

[Text of response by Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, to open letter from the bishop of Zahum-Herzegovina, Dr. Atanasije Jevtic: "The State Beats Me, So You Can Too"]

[Text] "I doubt that you have read *LE MONDE* or *LE FIGARO*. You have passed judgment on me based on only one excerpt, taken out of context, that was served up to viewers by state television. The same television for which you are a national traitor and servant of the Vatican."

Your Reverend Highness, •

I had just returned from Paris, where I was under treatment for the contusions administered by the state and the consequences of a recent, rigged indictment, when I found in NIN a similar indictment, signed by your hand. This indictment was carried in its entirety by almost every newspaper, radio, and television station in Serbia, but I know in advance that they will not deal in a similar manner with this, my response.

Admittedly, your indictment is short. It contains no facts, only laconic judgments, and is very suitable for duplication.

You have presented me with a sad choice: either I remain silent (which would be easier, but also preferable to me) or I write you and fill in the gaps in your indictment-verdict. I have chosen the latter. For your sake, not mine.

You say in the second sentence that I would like to place "Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the prison-like protectorate of the West"! You also bitterly reproach me for my support of the Vance-Owen plan and remind me of the "wounds of our fraternal Cyprus, where gentlemen from Geneva and New York have simply sanctioned the Turkish occupation for two decades now...."

I think, first of all, that Bosnia-Herzegovina today is the biggest prison, the biggest possible camp of death and human suffering for Orthodox, Muslim, and Roman Catholic alike, for everyone aside from the oppressive groups of individuals greedy for power and pleasure who to the misfortune of millions are attaining bloody fame and profit for themselves. In interviews for *LE MONDE* and *LE FIGARO*, I proposed the shortest way to end the war and, through this, to emerge from the Bosnia-Herzegovina cauldron and prison. I repeated what I have been saying for a year now, something that right now and only now has been targeted by the state propaganda machine in Serbia.

I doubt that you have read *LE MONDE* or *LE FIGARO*. You have passed judgment on me based on only one excerpt, taken out of context, that was served up to viewers by state television. The same television for which you are a "national traitor" and "servant of the Vatican." I have never believed these verdicts pronounced by them against you, and I have certainly not rushed to join the posse.

But to return to the "prison-like protectorate of the West" over Herceg-Bosna. The war that is going on there is least of all a war of soldiers against soldiers and one armed force against another. It involves most of all the killing and expulsion of civilians, the destruction and burning of entire villages, places of worship, cemeteries.... It is a hell of inhuman deeds, moral lapses, plunder, and bestiality that will disgrace even those who are not yet born. For me, putting a stop to this Evil is the supreme national and human interest. But how? By having UN forces take away everyone's weapons, simultaneously and unconditionally. This force should comprise soldiers from Russia, France, the United States, and Great Britain. Why? Because those four states, as allies and victors in two world wars, critically influenced the formation of Yugoslavia in 1918 and its restoration in 1945. I believe that more than 95 percent of the exhausted population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including soldiers, would organize a welcome for this military force of peace and salvation.

In this way, I hope, weapons all over Bosnia-Herzegovina would fall silent no later than two months after the arrival of the peacekeeping forces, while over the course of the following several months a provisional administration would be set up, a provisional UN guardianship. This means in practice that all citizens would be released from the fear of death and persecution, that everyone who wants to could safely return to their home or the ruins of it, and that war criminals on all sides would be brought to justice. This would open the door to reconciliation between relatives and neighbors, but also the door to the reconstruction of everything that has been destroyed and burned. In that case, the world would lend a helping hand. Only then would it be possible to begin real talks and negotiations on the structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its future as a state. The citizens would be the ones to pass judgment: a federation, a confederation, of how many states—or a partition between Serbia and Croatia. All options would be open.

On what basis is a confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Serb national interest? A confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina today means a confederal Serbia tomorrow. According to the same criteria and the same rights.

I have nothing at all to say about the tragedy of a partition into ethnically pure states. The graves of ancestors, as well as human reminiscences and memories, cannot be carried off in the trunk of a car or in a bundle. The insanity that drove the Muslims from Trebinje and the Serbs from Mostar tomorrow will banish from that same "Serbian Trebinje" those Serbs who do not

applaud this person or that person, and then it will be all those who do not have blue eyes or do have blue eyes—depending on what is declared the "national interest."

That is why I supported the Vance-Owen plan, despite all its shortcomings. That plan to a certain extent prevented the legalization of ethnic cleansing and was a solid basis for some new, human approaches and bridges. In any event, the basic starting point for the Vance-Owen project was halting the war and laying down arms. Everything else was placed in the background, for later. If that plan had been accepted, the guns in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be silent today and death would not be more urgent than life.

As far as the "wounds of our fraternal Cyprus" are concerned, I have never heard any special protests and cries for help coming from people there who have suffered and been injured by the presence of UN peacekeeping forces. Cyprus today is the Singapore of Europe. Several tens of thousands of us have rushed off to that place, under "occupation," over the past two years from our free and proud and insubordinate Serbia. In a few months, there will be more Serbs in Cyprus than Greek Cypriots. There are millions here who dream of that "Western prison."

In the real world, however, there exists a hell, and I will not believe that this hell is either "patriotic" or "Christian," nor that the "liberating and righteous spirit of Christ's Orthodoxy" can be sought and found in death and hatred, in isolation from the entire world, in the misfortune of our nation, in the flight of the youngest and most precious people from Serbia, in the agonies of refugees, and in the general hopelessness and collapse.

I am not saying here that the West and present-day Europe are free of sin and shortcomings, but at the same time I am far-removed from the idea of stigmatizing the "totalitarian mentality" of Europe and the West from this epicenter of Evil and totalitarianism. When Bishop Nikolaj Lelicki was at the camp at Dachau, thundering against European totalitarianism, that ugly scorpion of the swastika was spreading across our entire continent, and the scene of evils that in present-day Europe are limited to our country were taking place everywhere.

By the way, I have taken and do take some of the pages the Bishop Nikolaj wrote at Dachau with reservations. They are the parts where, citing the prophet Jeremiah, he discusses the sins of the Jews. It is true that no one was as vehement as the prophet Jeremiah in bringing to light so many shortcomings and curses of the tribe of David. But the prophet Jeremiah was himself also a Jew. Bishop Nikolaj Lelicki is the greatest and wisest when he is the "Serbian Jeremiah," when he exposes the vices, mistakes, and stupidities in the Serb nation.

I consider one of our biggest and most dangerous stupidities to be the current hysterical and half-witted screaming about a worldwide anti-Serb conspiracy. Everyone, except for us, is up to their neck in sin, and

everyone, except for us, is going to hell. They hate us because they envy us. They hate us because we are better, smarter, braver, and prettier than everyone else. With them, the evil and the inhumane, we who are good and humane need not meet, nor have breakfast, nor hold talks, nor issue joint announcements. If we do that, then we are, according to you, their "lackeys."

The most depressing thing about the whole story is that in the name of St. Sava and his church our neighbors and the entire world are being declared a pestilence that we must shun. As far as I know, we have not had a greater or more determined traveler since Rastko Nemanjic, since St. Sava. Wherever he went and ended up, he talked, concluded agreements, reconciled Serbia with its neighbors and brought estranged brothers within Serbia itself back together. He was an endower of Roman Catholic churches as well and brought love between all people, all nations and religions that this greatest diplomat and peacemaker encountered. He transplanted our values to this great world and brought the values of others back to us. At the same time, he healed our blindness, our vices, and our imagination. At Serb synods he spoke about Serbs in the same way that Jeremiah spoke to the Jews about the Jews. And he brought much hatred upon himself because of that, from us who were unfit for him. Our wretchedness drove him away from us, and I think that in his sadness he intentionally awaited death in a foreign land, in Turnovo. He has never been further from us, or we from him, than in the past days and years. We of the present are the most unworthy of Rastko Nemanjic, despite the fact that we invoke his name more frequently and virulently than anyone before us. If St. Sava was a "lackey" of foreign countries, then so am I.

I did not understand your charge that I had "lectured" the Serbian patriarch. When? What "lecture"? If on some occasions, and on some issues, I have not agreed with the patriarch, I have not hidden that disagreement or those misgivings. Orthodoxy in fact guarantees the right to misgivings, because for a thinking and free person that is the same thing as the right to love.

You also write that I have not followed the "advice of friends, such as the best nonpartisan people in DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia]." I would like to know what this advice is that I have rejected and who these "best people" are who have advised me, in vain? I am someone who never takes different opinions and advice from friends as punishment, but rather as a reward. That is how I understood and accepted your letter as well.

Right at the end of the letter, you criticize me for not visiting Herzegovina. I will go into the reasons for this voluntary exile from my homeland at somewhat greater length.

I have visited Herzegovina, solitary and at a time that was not acknowledged, when one wasn't allowed to remember, and I was the first, before anyone, even before the Church, who peered into its deepest pits and

wounds. My thoughts and feelings and visions and fears are still in those chasms from the days when I was "gathering" pain and moaning for *"The Knife"* and the two "Prayers."

But when, once again at that unacknowledged time, I wrote and published that saga on hatred and insanity, the door of Herzegovina was closed to me. I was declared a "madman," a "man of the knife," a "destroyer of brotherhood and unity," by people whose dead I was the first to extract from the pit, from oblivion. Secretly, at night, I went to my homeland to visit my parents. The only neighbor who in those days dared to stand up and defend my novel was Zaim Cimic, and the only one who shook hands with me and embraced me publicly was named Azim Kazinic.

I swallowed my pain and attributed the attitude of the people of Herzegovina to fear. I attributed this to fear in the summer of 1990 as well, when as chairman of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] they refused to let me speak in Bileca and Trebinje, telling me, "Do not come, do not estrange us from our Muslim brothers!" These "moderate" and "reasonable" people founded the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party].

Then, one evening, these same "reasonable" and "moderate" Serbs decided to peer into the pits, to advance to the churches and sites of former churches. That was when I became alarmed. Not because they did not invite me to the celebrations beside the pits (they had transformed this into celebrations, scenes of disorder) and because then too they told me not to come under any circumstances, but rather because I knew who they were and where their rashness would lead them, having been so suddenly Serbianized and emboldened. There was nothing about this "transformation" that was spontaneous, with things drawing to a head. Quite simply, commands about the national interest and all the accompanying instructions and arms arrived from on high. Those who knew nothing about St. Sava were the most vocal in shouting their support, and spiritually unprepared people rose up in defense of threatened Orthodoxy, people who did not know how to cross themselves properly, the majority of whom had never held the Gospels in their hands.

That is the only way that everything that has happened and everything that will happen could have happened. I hear that champagne was poured and that there was singing and gyrating until dawn, when the Muslims were expelled from Trebinje and the local mosques were blown up. I do not believe that you approve of this and that anyone can disguise this disgrace of ours as a struggle for a state, or as revenge for 1941, or as the defense of Orthodoxy. We have never done this in our entire existence.

How am I supposed to return to Gacko when I do not know where my neighbors are? I do not accept the fact that they were displaced and that that is how it should be. Displaced with them were my childhood, my school

days, my first coffee at Naza's, so many precious events and memories. I understand the pain that drove Djura, my Gacanin, to take his own life last summer. On Christmas morning 1942, his entire family was slaughtered by Muslim ustashas in the town of Pridvorica, which was Jugovici in my novel *"The Knife."* However, he could not accept last year's reprisals against innocent people, and as a Christian he did not approve of our committing the same evil that others had committed against him, against us. He hanged himself. He decided to commit a godless act for the sake of his family's and his religion's honor. Is he a sinner or a righteous man? Or both? The old hodza Fazlagic, who was Sikter Effendi in the novel *"The Knife,"* spat at Gacko ustashas in 1941 and shouted, "Get out, you scoundrel, because you can get at my Serb neighbors and brothers only through me!" A similar approach was taken half a century later by Miodrag Kovacevic, who refused to avenge his grandfather by killing the murderer's grandson. There are a lot of other examples, especially in Bileca and Trebinje. Hercegovina's honor has been saved by these courageous people who have resisted the pack mentality and defended others from themselves. I do not want to be with the others. They are the same ones who banished me because of *"The Knife."* Then I was a "greater Serb," now I am a "traitor," but they have consistently been "patriots."

Mr. Jetic,

For your sake, I wish that this letter of yours had not been sent to me. It should have been written a long time ago and sent to certain other addresses: Karadzic, Mladic, Seselj, Vucurovic.... You should teach them a policy that will be "patriotic and Christian in a genuine sense." You should lecture them, not me, on their "lackey-like but ostensibly dignified stance." You should write to them about what "genuine humanity and the liberating and righteous spirit of Christ's Orthodoxy" are.

They, not I, are the creators and chiefs of the land of slaughter. I want to believe that you do not agree with them about everything, although you have not demonstrated that publicly.

In your letter, you speak of the false dilemma for Serbs: Milosevic or Draskovic. Does that mean that for you the real dilemma is Karadzic or Seselj? Whom do you support, anyway? These are the people, not I, who have pursued and are pursuing a policy that will reduce Serbia to the borders of the Belgrade pashadam.

Problems, Challenges Facing Army Viewed

93BA1367F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1
Aug 93 p 7

[Article by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "Jumping Over the Canyon"]

[Text] Mr. Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has devoted three of his working days to

visiting the most important commands of the Army. Although his work schedule was extremely heavy, the trip certainly has an importance which exceeds protocol symbolism. There are too many urgent problems and too little calm for a visit of this kind to take place in idyllic recollection of "past successes" and promises with the old ideological ring.

There was less ideology than ever, and in this connection one can conclude that the Army is certainly getting rid of verbal abstraction in performing its difficult job. But if the past, which from the present vantage point seems incomparably more attractive, has finally been filed away in the archives with what was worthwhile, and still more with what was not, during the meeting of the distinguished soldiers and the man who under the Constitution is most responsible for command of the armed forces, the problem of vigilance was at the center of all the questions.

It must immediately be said that the meeting did not take place in the form of a social confession on the one hand and major promises from the chief of state on the other. The social problems which are tearing society apart, and according to the most recent indicators doing so convincingly to the Army the most, were nevertheless on the margin of the talks. The presence of the high-level guest was seen above all as an occasion to speak directly about what operational components of the Army of Yugoslavia can do in these moments and under these conditions, about where the last mental and material reserves are, is there any energy not yet consumed, so that combat readiness would be at the "appropriate level." The reports by the commanders were convincing, and the main items in those accounts were by way of an essential analysis of combat usability at the moment. In spite of everything, the forces have not dried up, even though funds dried up long ago, and allow the author a digression backward that has to do with a conviction that cannot be measured in numbers: There is morale for facing the things that are most difficult for an army, there is still ammunition of every kind, and also experience in war, which might come in handy.

Mr. Lilic carefully listened to the reports and still more carefully looked at the combat equipment and the technical reviews, many of which, along with their crews, had earned visible scars in the war. He was pleased with the openness of the officers he met, and they emphasized his directness and readiness to talk to everyone. For his part, he said that the government must protect the prestige of the Army, because it cannot do that if it is left to itself. That politicization is disastrous to the same degree whether the officers join political parties or the parties "infiltrate" the army. There is no professionalism without getting rid of all party ideologies, but a good army is not possible if its officers replace the imperative of political neutrality for disastrous political inertness and lack of comprehensive for what is happening around them. He also said that important laws will soon be adopted and that the military obligation cannot be based on the voluntary principle, and that precedence in an

obligation which is universal almost certainly signify a destruction of the law-governed state. The blow of prices is almost equal to a coup d'etat, he said.

For the officers who do not have housing, the chief of state was unable to promise quick solutions, but he said that everything would be done to moderate what in the short run is insoluble. The government simply does not have the money and is spending far more than is objectively possible on its own maintenance.

It seems, then, that Mr. Lilic, in his visit to almost all the high commands and all three services, did learn what is most important: that optimism with respect to the Army is realistic only if the next moves are made decisively and precisely. In our opinion, these would above all be a strong infusion of personnel and an essential drop in the age of personnel in the highest positions. Incidentally, that is the conclusion of the last meeting of the Supreme Defense Council. And then elimination of all party institutions in the Army and departure of those who headed those institutions. Finally, this means cleaning up crime and getting rid of all those who have been using false patriotism and constant appeals to it for what is outright war profiteering.

It is not, of course, possible to get around the fact, nor was it evaded in the meeting of Mr. Lilic with the officers, that members of the Army, in the present social hopelessness, are convincingly at the bottom. Could this be a metaphor for the attitude toward the Army, or a projected symbolism of its power? Here is an illustration: A captain, a battery (or company) commander, will earn the minimum republic personal income for July (in Serbia) after seven months and five days of work. The commander of a wartime unit would work about five months to get the aid for those who are on mandatory leave.

As matters stand, the Army is lagging more and more behind the minimum income in the republic, and there is less and less hope that it will catch up. For its part, as President Lilic was told, it will do everything so that defense of the country is not placed in jeopardy in any way.

The canyon is nevertheless too deep between the obligations and the status, and at this point there is no bridgebuilder on the horizon. Whether he will turn up does not depend any longer just on the Army and its government. But what does depend on them must be done so as to avoid a definitive tardiness.

Economists on Government Price Control

93BA1367E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Aug 93 p 10

[Article by Tanja Jakobi: "That Is the Greatest Madness"]

[Text] "That is the greatest madness"—put most briefly, was the comment of Dr. Ljubomir Madzar, professor, on

the current administrative restriction of prices with which the federal government is concerned at the moment. According to Dr. Madzar, this is the most disastrous of all the measures taken so far by the cabinet of Prime Minister Kontic. "First, this is a battle which cannot be won, and second, if this measure even succeeds, it will be harmful to those in the name of whose welfare it is being carried out."

"The government cannot know how high prices should be, and its attempt to interfere here will have only adverse consequences, because even that production which could exist under these conditions will be shut down because of noneconomic prices," Dr. Madzar says. "The state could perhaps order socialized firms to bring goods out of the warehouses, but I doubt that it could order the private operators to do that. And second, and this is much more important, there are no measures at all whereby the government can force either the socialized or the private sector to produce."

The government's successes in the area of rolling back prices will, in Dr. Madzar's opinion, bring about a further drop of production, which is directly opposite to the objectives the government says it favors. Dr. Madzar speaks with more approval, but with a high dose of skepticism as to practical application, about the additional measures of economic policy, which Dr. Jovan Zebic, federal deputy prime minister, presented in an interview with BORBA last week.

"The idea of introducing commodity coupons for wheat is a good one, because that would make it possible for the monetary blow not to be concentrated on the 20 to 30 days of the purchasing campaign, but over a longer period of time, and that is the positive aspect of that measure. It is unclear, however, why the public would have an interest in buying grain coupons, because this depends on what the return would be. The government ought to provide a stimulative return with an interest rate that is considerably higher than present rates," Dr. Madzar says. "And the commitment to activate the credit potential of the business banks to meet the needs of the economy is good, because primary issue would calm down in this way, but I am still skeptical as to whether this could actually be carried out. The question is whether the banks have that potential at all, and if they do, why was this not used earlier?"

BORBA's informant also had a favorable opinion of Dr. Zebic's announcement that the government administration would be downsized and certain ministries abolished, but he also mentioned that the costs of the federal administration are small in the budget even now. In principle, the idea of the federal government to reduce protection of workers on paid leave through their retraining or opening up possibilities to move into the private sector is constructive, because it means relieving the burden of payrolls. But the big question is whether it makes sense for the firms to pay for retraining workers for jobs they do not need, and how in this "fog" which surrounds us could a rational estimate be made as to

exactly how many workers are redundant? Dr. Madzar had a brief answer to the question of whether he could start up a legal private business with initial capital of 1,200 German marks [DM] (24 payments of DM50 each): "I would not do it. That severance pay would not be anywhere near sufficient to begin any business, especially now when market conditions are desperately bad."

The measure to limit the lowest pensions at the level of half of the lowest net earnings is good in Dr. Madzar's opinion, but it was forced, and the government had to consent to it. There is even the idea of all pensioners receiving equal pensions so long as this extraordinary situation endures, which in the assessment of our informant would perhaps be acceptable from the economic standpoint, but debatable from the legal standpoint.

Finally, Dr. Madzar agrees completely with the forecast of the federal deputy prime minister that there will be no social rebellion "so long as the war is raging in Bosnia." As for Zebic's other optimistic assurance that there will not be a financial collapse, Dr. Madzar said briefly: "The collapse has already occurred and is getting deeper."

Serbia

Government To Abolish Defense, Foreign Ministries

LD2808013893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2202 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—The list of Serbia's state bodies will no longer include the National Defense Ministry, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and Economic Development. A decision in this regard was adopted by Republican Parliament deputies, at the Government's proposal, this evening.

Certain duties of these ministries will be transferred to the jurisdiction of federal bodies and some will continue to be performed by the republican government.

Markovic Criticizes UN Resolution on Kosovo

LD2908202293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1943 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Kragujevac, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Serbia's Vice-Premier Danilo Markovic said on Sunday the U.N. Subcommittee for Human Rights in Geneva had no proof for accusing Yugoslavia of human rights violations in its southern province of Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmet).

Unfortunately, the Albanian lobby did its part and (the subcommittee) took note of statements made by ethnic Albanian extremists who want to take away Kosovo from Yugoslavia. Markovic told the local radio in Kragujevac, an industrial centre in central Serbia.

The subcommittee last week adopted a resolution accusing the authorities of Yugoslavia and its republic

Serbia of discrimination against ethnic Albanians who constitute the majority population in Kosmet.

Markovic, until recently Serbia's minister of education, said that at the beginning of this school year ethnic Albanian secessionist forces again campaigned against the enrollment of ethnic Albanian children in Kosmet schools.

Serbia's authorities have informed the international public that ethnic Albanian children in Kosmet have not been attending classes for the third consecutive year because the separatists reject the curriculums of the Republic of Serbia, he said. Ethnic Albanians have a say in drafting curriculums for four subjects vital for the preservation of their cultural identity—Albanian language, national history, music and art, the Serbian vice-premier said.

Speaking about terrorist acts in Kosmet, Markovic said that they were aimed at destabilizing the political situation in Serbia, primarily for propaganda purposes. He reiterated that the fate of the mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) should be examined on the basis of revelations between the CSCE and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia whose federal unit Serbia is. If Yugoslavia is outside the CSCE, then a CSCE mission in Yugoslavia would mean placing Yugoslavia under the tutelage of this organization. Markovic concluded.

The Government of Yugoslavia has not extended the mandate of the CSCE mission for Kosmet, Sandzak and Vojvodina because Yugoslavia's membership in the CSCE has been frozen for over a year.

Appeal for Release of Croatian Soldiers Followed Up

AU3008081093 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 93 p 4

[Report by Milovan Nedjeljkovic, VECERNJI LIST correspondent from Serbia: "Letter 'Got Lost,' Croats in Prison"]

[Text] Belgrade—The letter from Branimir Glavas, head of Osijek and Baranja county, to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, which was read several days ago on Croatian Television news, most probably did not reach its destination.

Milosevic's cabinet claims that they did not receive the letter. The Ministries of Justice of Serbia and "the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]" claim the same and say that the letter should have been directed to the Ministry of Human Rights and Rights of Minorities.

Minister Margit Savic said yesterday: "I know nothing about that." This is most probably just another deceit, like the one about the opening of the Croatian embassy in Belgrade.

May I remind you that Mr. Glavas appealed to President Milosevic to obtain the liberation of Croatian soldiers who were captured trying to destroy the bridge near Batina, on the Danube, toward the end of 1991. They should have been exchanged for ten members of the "Shield" group caught in Karlovac, but the problem lies in the fact that the Croatian soldiers were accused of terrorism and were sentenced in the FRY as terrorists. Branko Macan (48), Adonis Hadzic (22), Sasa Malcic (21), Adam Kusenic (26), Radomir Matic (28), and Nikica Djuric (27) were then sentenced to 15 years of prison, while Martin Horvat was sentenced to 12 years, and Josip Brant (37) to 10 years of prison. They are serving their sentence in a prison in Sremska Mitrovica, and according to Petar Baros, head of the Reform Department, the accused "have not behaved in a disorderly manner, nor have they been punished so far" during their term.

According to official information, the "Sombor group" will remain imprisoned, and it is mostly up to Milosevic to organize their exchange, that is, if he received Glavas's letter at all.

Macedonia

Gligorov Discusses Situation With U.S. Officials

AU2708154993 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English
26 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "Talks Over U.S. Aid"]

[Text] Macedonia's President Kiro Gligorov received yesterday U.S. Congressman Gingrich, who was accompanied by General Boyd.

During the discussion which Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski also took part, they exchanged opinions regarding the current situation in Macedonia and the region and the development of U.S. Macedonian relations.

According to the announcement from President Gligorov's cabinet, the discussions focused on the possibilities and means for the United States of America to provide economic, political, military, and other aid to the Republic of Macedonia. The Congressman also expressed an interest in the possibilities for the resolution of the Macedonian-Greek dispute.

President Gligorov welcomed the U.S. interest in helping Macedonia, and concluded that relations on that field are developing well. In that context, he mentioned the deployment of Macedonian President, it is of utmost importance for the maintenance of peace in the region and a confirmation of the advantages of preventive diplomatic action [sentence as received]

Gligorov emphasized the already confirmed Macedonia's peaceful policy toward its neighbors. In that

context he pointed out the need for settling the Macedonian-Greek dispute, and the need for good and overall cooperation between Macedonia and Greece.

Prime Minister, U.S. Senator Discuss Military Presence

LD2808174893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650
GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Skopje, Aug 28 (TANJUG)—The prime minister of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.M.) Branko Crvenkovski and U.S. Senator Richard Lugar agreed here on Saturday that the presence of U.S. troops in the F.Y.R.M. contributes to maintaining peace and stability in the region. Lugar arrived on a one-day visit to the F.Y.R.M. on Saturday.

As of late, visits to Skopje by U.S. officials have become more frequent. Their aim is to analyze the effectiveness of the U.S. military presence in the F.Y.R.M. and further U.S. aid to that country in the economic, political and military fields.

Washington explained the deployment of its troops in the F.Y.R.M. in June this year with the need to prevent a spreading of the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the other regions of former Yugoslavia and the neighbouring Balkan countries.

Government, Local Serbs Sign Document on Minority Rights

AU2808164793 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English
27 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "Document on the Rights of the Serbs in Macedonia"]

[Text] Skopje, August 27, 1993, (Mils)—At today's press conference held in Skopje, the Chief of the mission for inter-ethnic problems in former Yugoslavia in the framework of the London conference Gerd Arens, said that a special document between the Government of Macedonia and the representatives of the Serbian minority was signed today. Witnesses to the signing of the document were representatives of the CSCE in Macedonia and the London conference for Yugoslavia.

The representative of the Serbs in Macedonia Dr. Bora Ristic, a professor at the Faculty of Law in Bitola, stated that "the Serbs in Macedonia settle their status in a democratic way, and not with guns in their hands." Their requests have now been put on paper with the help of the international institutions. Now, the government is to secure the equal status of the Serbs in Macedonia.

The Government of the Republic of Macedonia guarantees that the Serbian national minority has an equal status with all other minorities in Macedonia in concordance with all international documents on human rights. In return, the Serbs are obliged to realize their rights only in the framework of the system of the Republic of Macedonia.

For now, the government and the Serbs have still not agreed on the procedure concerning their being mentioned in the preamble to the Constitution where the other nationalities in Macedonia are mentioned. Namely, the government believes that this issue should be settled by the parliament, at the government's proposal. In principle, the government agrees with this suggestion of the Serbian representatives in Macedonia. On the other hand, the Serbs are obligated not to boycott the next census of the population, scheduled for 1994.

The Serbian national minority will have the right to primary education in Serbian language, provided there are at least 15 children in one grade, and to secondary education, if there are at least 25 students in one class.

Gerd Arens asserted that the issue of religion is not under his competence. Here, the Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski explained that, according to the Constitution, all citizens have the right to their own religious practice. However, whether the Serbian Orthodox Church will form its own diasporic unit is another issue. Namely, it is known that the Serbian Orthodox Church does not recognize the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

Montenegro

Commentary Views Chances of War in Kosovo

AU2708165293 Podgorica MONITOR in
Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 93 p 16

[Commentary by V. Orosi: "A Step Behind Bosnia"]

[Text] Attention in Kosovo is focusing on Geneva because many Yugoslav and foreign analysts think that it will be Kosovo's turn after the war in Bosnia is over. Over recent months, the situation in the region has been something between deceptive peace and war. Under the veil of darkness several attacks on the Serbian police have been carried out involving casualties, but the extensive investigation into these has not borne fruit.

Phantoms of the Night

The political parties of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo have accused Albanian terrorists for these acts. On the other hand, Bujar Bukoshi, the president of the Kosovo government in exile, has requested help from the international community, because the situation, which he feels is being caused by engineered incidents, is very tense, and, furthermore, "can spread."

Milaim Kadriu, the leader of the extreme nationalist People's Party of Kosovo, requested that Interpol be included in the investigation "in order to discover the phantoms of the night." Fehmi Agani, vice-chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, does not rule out the possibility that the police were attacked by Albanians who simply could not endure the repression any longer. Agani criticized the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs for not publishing the results of the investigation,

because, in his opinion, this contributes to the continuation of hostility and mutual accusations between Serbs and Albanians.

The leader of the Kosovo Albanians, Ibrahim Rugova, has also warned on several occasions that "if the Serbian repression is not stopped, the situation will soon run out of control." At approximately the same time, Adem Demaci, a relatively influential individual among the Kosovar Albanians, gave a statement to TRUD from Sofia, claiming that he would not rule out a war in Kosovo, and that the Serbs would spend the next six centuries wailing over "the second Battle of Kosovo," since he is convinced that the United States, Italy, Germany, and Austria would side with the Albanians. The Serbian side let it be known through JEDINSTVO, a paper close to the ruling party, that if the "separatists" started a conflict, the resulting war in this region would be dangerous primarily for the Albanians.

Each Side Provides Its Own Evidence

A slight change to the Albanian political scene is on the horizon—a fact also confirmed by the recent statement issued by Ibrahim Rugova to the Austrian agency APA: "If the West accepts the ethnic principle for Bosnia and a change of borders in this republic, then it cannot be excluded that a request would be submitted for another change of borders and the unification of Kosovo and Albania." In its commentary, JEDINSTVO, a Serbian language newspaper, demanded that the Serbian authorities bring criminal charges against Rugova, and even to ban the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo.

As long as each side provides its own evidence that it does not want war and is only suggesting what would be best for Kosovo, the experts on the Kosovo issue in Pristina attentively await moves by the "great" [powers]—how they will reach "a political compromise" in Bosnia and a solution for the Croatian Serbs. Only then will it be known what will happen to Kosovo, too. As long as these problems remain unsolved, the attitude of the U.S. State Department—that the Serbian leadership must stop the repression against the Albanian minority, must renounce the use of force, and must reestablish Kosovo's autonomy—must be respected by both sides. The Albanian side knows that the United States has confirmed its view of the unacceptability of a completely independent Kosovo.

It is pointed out in the State Department's report on U.S. policy in the Balkans that Milosevic had been informed that the United States is prepared to intervene if the Serbs cause a conflict in Kosovo.

Program of New Montenegro Party Discussed

93BA1369A Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian
23 Jul 93 p 19

[Article by Marko Vukovic: "Montenegro Party Formed Nationalism as a Shield"]

[Text] *The return of the kingdom of Montenegro, national sovereignty, the autocephalous Montenegrin church, and reconciliation of the Montenegrin national corpus—tasks that the Montenegrin Party has set for itself.*

"We are Montenegrin nationalists, but nationalists of the defensive type," said the 18-year-old beauty Sandra Vlahovic (later proclaimed president of the Assembly of the CS [Montenegrin Party] by acclaim) and hundreds of hands of young, strong youths, with five spread fingers, rose in the air. The jammed theater of the "Kultura" moviehouse in Podgorica enthusiastically greeted (on 19 July) the founding of the "pure" Montenegrin party. The Montenegrins finally got their nationalist party, a long time after the other fraternal peoples. Mr. Budimir Perovic, proclaimed president of the CS, also by acclaim, explained that they "are nationalists, but not in any way chauvinists, i.e., those who hate other peoples and other confessions."

Perovic's introductory speech and the program of the Montenegrin Party set forth several essential boundary lines between the newly founded and existing parties of Montenegrin orientation. All those up to now have been civically oriented, more or less, but the CS is an explicitly national party. Moreover, article 3 of the program reads as follows: "CS members are all those who join on a voluntary basis and feel like Montenegrins in the national sense."

"It is evident that, because of many centuries of conflict, there exists among young Montenegrins a certain dosage of intolerance toward Muslims. Unfortunately, we must state this as a reality. With the founding of this kind of party, we will force those people to the wall to say openly whether they are for Montenegro or not. Now they will no longer be able to justify themselves that they don't want to join Montenegrin parties because of the Muslims," says Mr. Budimir Perovic.

The aim of the CS is to mediate quarrels and conflicts in the Montenegrin national corpus, which are the result of actions from outside and of the wish that Montenegro "become paralyzed." The present government, national media, and Dr. Novak Kilibarda are the actors in this plan. Five spread fingers, the party greeting, symbolize this task.

The new party wants to see Prince Nikola Petrovic as king of a sovereign Montenegro, a wealthy, organized, and safe parliamentary monarchy. A militia-type Montenegrin army, with professional special branches, would preserve this state. The church would be autocephalous, and the language Montenegrin. All citizens of Montenegro would be equal, but Montenegrins would nevertheless be "more equal" in some things. The president, the premier, the minister of internal and foreign affairs, as well as the commander of the Montenegrin army, must be members of the Montenegrin nation.

With regard to the assessment that the denationalization of Montenegrins has moved farther south, the leadership

of the Montenegrin Party has announced that it will go as early as next week to Pljevlja, Andrijevic, Berane...

[Box, p 19]

The speech of Mr. Budimir Perovic had a program character. MONITOR presents some characteristic parts:

On the Surrounding Nations

Montenegro and the Montenegrin people are located in the hostile surroundings of three great national plans, and these are: the great national Serbian plan (which denies the existence of the Montenegrin nation), the great national Croatian plan (which says that we are red Croats and that Boka is theirs), the great national Albanian plan (whose geographic maps in Albania show half of present Montenegro). We say to this that this is not Turkey, or Serbia, or Croatia, or Albania, but only the Nation Montenegro.

On the Greeting

The greeting is "The Montenegrin Party comes in peace," with an upraised hand with five spread fingers, a sign that has meant a greeting since time immemorial. The first finger (the thumb) designates the Montenegrin nation—kingdom of Montenegro, the second finger designates the Montenegrin autocephalous church, the third finger designates the Montenegrin language (logos), the fourth finger designates the Montenegrin united ethic (a hero is he who defends himself from another), the fifth finger is a planetary expression (openness toward the world, cosmopolitanism, etc.).

On Kilibarda

The long-term activities of Dr. Novak Kilibarda, a Turkish language professor, leader of the Serbian People's Party, have been dangerous for the north of Montenegro in that he deceived our Montenegrins and transformed them into Serbs. He, from Banjan, speaks ekavian, the "Dirty Cross" of Bora Stankovic is closer to him than the "Mountain Wreath" and Njegos. This man, like a hen, laid about ten Serbian-young Turkish parties, which today are tearing up our wounded and abandoned Montenegro. There is still another Serbian-citizens party, the Radical Party, where some cherry orchards and sweet cherry orchards imitate their leader—a false commander and a false Serb.

About the Serbs

Montenegrins should know that today, in Serbia, 1 million Gypsies, 1 million Turks, 2 million Vlachs (Rumanians), 3 million Tzintzars, and so forth, write like Serbs. This is all one vast mixture, which, in the name of false Serbianism, wants to eliminate us Montenegrins and get out to our Montenegrin sea in order to bathe in our blood. The answer is clear—it is better to be a proud Montenegrin—eternally free—never subjugated, than to pass into the corpus of slaves who were under the

Turks for 500 years and we can say to them: If the function of the first wedding night is kept in mind that they are Turks in genetic material, or—peasants and debtors, and we are only Montenegrins.

Kosovo

Serbian Police Detain U.S. Senator

LD2808135093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] The Kosovo Human Rights Committee announced today that the Serbian police have detained U.S. Senator Paul Coverdell, who intended to meet Albanian miners from the Trepca mine in Stari Trg at the end of his two-day visit to the province.

He was also scheduled to visit the village of Cabar, where the police resorted to violence in their dealings with the local population two days ago.

It is still not known whether Senator Paul Coverdell has been released from Mitrovica prison.

Rugova Meets With U.S. Senator

LD2908084193 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Tirana, August 29 (ATA)—During his two day stay in Kosovo, the US Senator, Paul Coverdell met with the President of the Republic Ibrahim Rugova and other political and state authorities. He went to the city of Mitrovica to meet with the dismissed Albanian miners and with the citizens that were maltreated by Serbian police in the Qaber village recently.

After meeting with Albanians and Serbians in Kosovo, the US senator said at a press conference that there is a real threat for an armed conflict there. International community should be on the alert and determined to resolve the question of Kosovo through a peaceful way. Senator Coverdell condemned the decision of Serbia to oust the CSCE observation mission from Kosovo, saying that a neutral mediator from the international community is an indispensable step for the dialogue between all sides.

Police Surround Market in Mitrovica, Arrest 26 People

AU2808140093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] The Prishtina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms reports that at 1815 [1615 GMT] yesterday, more than 150 Serbian policemen surrounded the produce and currency market and entered many bars of Albanians in Mitrovica. It is reported that many citizens have been beaten and 26 persons have been arrested. Haki Ymeri, deputy of the parliament of the Republic of Kosovo, has also been arrested.

Serbian Police Remain Silent on Murder of Boy

AU2908151593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] After the killing of the 16-year-old boy Sefer Cukovcki from Sernille village in Ferizaj, the Serbian police continue to remain silent on this case. Despite correspondents' requests that the circumstances of the murder be announced, it is reported that the staff of the Serbian special unit in Kosova and the District Public Prosecutor's Office, which are controlled by the Serbs, are not obligated to release any kind of information.

As for the previous cases, the Serbian police have remained silent on them as well, making it possible to judge the acts of state terror against Albanians.

The Albanian subjects have warned that they plan to file charges against the collaboration of Serbian state terror in the murder of Sefer Cukovcki and nine other victims in Kosovo that have occurred this year. However, even after indictments have been brought against Serbian institutions in Kosovo, which are controlled by Belgrade, they have failed to elucidate one case of innocent murders of Albanians, the Kosovo Information Center reports.

Divisions in Kosovo Albanian Parties

93BA1371E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Aug 93 p 15

[Article by M. Laketic; Albanian proper names rendered in Serbo-Croatian transliteration: "Splits in Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] Albanian Parties: Muslims Outmaneuver Catholics"]

[Text] Religion has divided leaders of Rugova's DSK [Democratic Alliance of Kosovo] and top Albanian figures: how the leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Lazar Krasnici, was replaced

Pristina, 4 Aug—It appears that party divisions, small-holder interests, and the classification of Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] Serbs as oldtimers and newcomers, which federal deputy Tomislav Sekulic called the ruling party, to which he himself belongs, have infected Albanian "pluralism" in Kosmet as well. Because judging from the self-eradication of 10 political associations bringing Kosmet Albanians together on the political scene, all that is left are Rugova's Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and the Christian Democratic Party, but without a chairman.

Thus, after the infighting in the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo, after which then-chairman Vetan Suroji went abroad (he is the editor of London's BBC for the Balkan region), disagreements began to emerge in other parties as well, and not even the DSK was spared. Aside from disagreements on the question of whether the Albanians need a Kosovo assembly right now or whether things can proceed without it, conflicts also emerged on the basis of religious affiliation. Thus, DSK vice chairman Anton

Koljaj, a Roman Catholic, and party leader Ibrahim Rugova, a Muslim, have been in conflict for three months now because Mr. Koljaj and his pro-Catholic faction advocate the immediate creation of an assembly while Rugova is waiting for a more suitable moment.

The parting of ways by these two figures quickly spread to the Christian Democratic Party, headed by Lazar Krasnici, who was once condemned for inciting Stari Trg miners to resist Serbian authority in Kosovska Mitrovica. Internal party divisions were inevitable, and the conflict was aggravated even further, according to an announcement by the committee making preparations for a special assembly printed by the publication BUJKU. The coordinating body, that publication writes, met even though it was still not clear who had convened it, the party chairman or the committee. The meeting took place amid skirmishing over the agenda, since besides Roman Catholic Albanians a lot of Muslims have been co-opted into this purely clerical party, people who have nothing in common with Christian democratic principles and the dogmatic concepts of Catholicism.

Thus, local Albanian newspapers report that at the meeting in question most of the skirmishes were between chairman Lazar Krasnici and party Presidency member Abdulj Karagadji, a Muslim who was not prevented from being part of the party leadership by not having a certificate of baptism. The coordinators of seven organizing communities of the Christian Democratic Party from Pristina, Prizren, Gnjilane, Vitina, Urosenac, Vucitrn, and Podujevo, which include no Catholics, even threatened to leave the meeting "which was being manipulated by chairman Krasnici" and called for the president's resignation. This was because, as the organizing communities in question contend, "Lazar Krasnici's goal is to impose things that were conceived abroad, where his permanent residence is; he comes to Kosovo only occasionally when he has a task to perform, he misuses enormous financial resources, and he infiltrates unknown persons into the party leadership who are not even party members." According to these statements, he has "brought coordinators in from abroad with premeditation in order to create a conflict situation in the party; he has split the party up according to religious affiliation, after which the Catholic faction would triumph." That is why Krasnici was removed from his post.

After the open conflict with Christian democrats of the Muslim faith, however, the "infiltrated coordinators" continued their activity and held their own meeting where Muslim members of the party were declared "people infiltrated by Ibrahim Rugova in order to keep them from acting politically in accordance with the principles of Roman Catholicism."

Divisions are noticeable in other parties as well, so that the Republican Party of Kosovo has ceased to exist, since individual activists clashed on "who revealed the holding of the party congress to the police." Culprits

were "found" in a Pec faction lead by Albanian Catholics, after which the membership turned its back on them.

Plundering of Public Property, Goods in Kosovo

93BA1367C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 93 p 13

[Article by Radojica Barjakterevic: "What Does a Thief Know About What a Crane Is"]

[Text] Are we dealing with the robberies of the century, or with schemes whereby the workers of Kosovo and Metohija are left without property, without business firms, and without recreational resorts on the seaside, in spas, and in the mountains? The answer is supposed to come from an investigation, most likely after a general strike. Up to that point, the assertion of the independent trade unions, both samostalni and nezavisni, still stands to the effect that worker property in Kosmet has been plundered to the foundations, and in some cases even the foundations have been taken. Those who have learned to "strip to the bare skin" the other day even plundered a lump-sum payment in the amount of 70 million dinars which the Government of Serbia sent to all employees.

In Kosmet, over the last three years millions and millions of German marks and U.S. dollars have been stolen at the same time. Some of the stolen property has vanished abroad, and some has been "siphoned" into private pockets right here. It all seems to have begun on the same day in 1990, when a 30-meter crane disappeared in Pristina, and a tower under high voltage in a long-distance power transmission line disappeared in Urosevac!

I Gave My Brother a Summer Resort!

Absolutely nothing has remained of the worker resorts at the seaside and in the spas, not even in the mountains. Kosta Galjak, president of the Kosovska Mitrovica Opština Council of the Trade Union Federation, told BORBA that 105 beds for workers in Canje, 25 beds in Vrnjacka Banja, and 40 in Kamenovo had "vanished" or been deleted from the records. All had been "siphoned" off into private hands without knowledge of the workers and the trade union. Who robbed the workers, and how and when was it done?

Ask those in power—goes the answer.

To make the story about the scandal with the worker resorts more complete, they report officially in the Council of Kosmet Trade Unions that "Kosmet worker resorts in Kamenovo and Ulcinj were taken by decision of the Pristina Opština Assembly and presented to the Beograd Agricultural Combine in Belgrade, most probably on the basis of kinship." It is also said that Novica Sojevic, former director of the Beograd Agricultural Combine and now the mayor of Pristina, had given Kosmet's worker resorts to his nephew, Radislav Aca Bojkovic, assistant director of the Beograd Agricultural

Combine. Now the workers of Kosmet and the trade union, their representative, by decision of the Pristina Opstina Assembly, have no right to their 100 beds in Kamenovo and three hectares of prime coastline. Nor do they have any right to the campground and lot in Ulcinj, because it found some Rekreaturs to cover a certain property transformation, but in actuality "it is a question of private theft of worker property."

The workers and the trade unionists have been left without their property through unilateral decisions of the current government which erased real estate and office space of the provincial and opstina trade union councils. They also took away their housing. Milos Zoric, secretary of the Provincial Council of the Trade Union Federation, says that three apartments were recently taken away from the Council of Kosmet Trade Unions on the basis of a decision of a republic commission in the Serbian Government and allocated to a postman, a misdemeanors judge, and a woman who formerly worked in the information department, who immediately exchanged the apartment with an Albanian and moved out of Kosmet. Now, the whole affair is in court, while the workers of the trade union can go into their apartments to get their things only with a police escort.

The Firm to a Private Operator and to the Worker the Street

In Kosmet, they are rightly calling upon the Serbian Government to review the procedures in property transformation of socialized firms. The workers and trade unionists say that this "job" was done exclusively by

temporary agencies, contrary to the law on transformation, and that the workers and trade unionists were not consulted at all. A year ago, an answer to that question was demanded from the Government of Serbia, but none has been forthcoming even to this day. It is a fact that receivers who appropriated unlawful benefit for themselves remained in the firms even after transformation of ownership. "In Kosmet, 'everything is for sale,' the firms and the workers," says Momir Popovic, chairman of the Provincial Council. The enterprises are going into private hands, and the workers are going onto the street. Novi Dom of Pristina is not the only one which has sold its business space and leased other space. There are hundreds of such examples in Pristina, Pec, Djakovica.... Almost overnight, with the blessing of opstina authorities and a "wink from above," Kosmet firms are changing their names. Gazimestans, Zavicajs, Otadzbinas... are springing up, and the workers are astonished or they go on mandatory leave because there is no work and will not be any, or they get a decision to the effect that they are working in another firm.

Even the lump-sum aid in the amount of 70 million dinars which the Serbian Government sent to employed persons takes on the form of a kind of scandal in Kosovo and Metohija. Although these funds are free of all government charges, taxes, and contributions, mostly Kosmet employers (read "directors") have diverted these funds elsewhere, saying that "there is no money anywhere." The rumor mill, however, has it that certain directors of Kosmet firms have been buying foreign exchange on the street and with account money, so long as that was possible, and thereby improving the "balance" in their private bank accounts.